

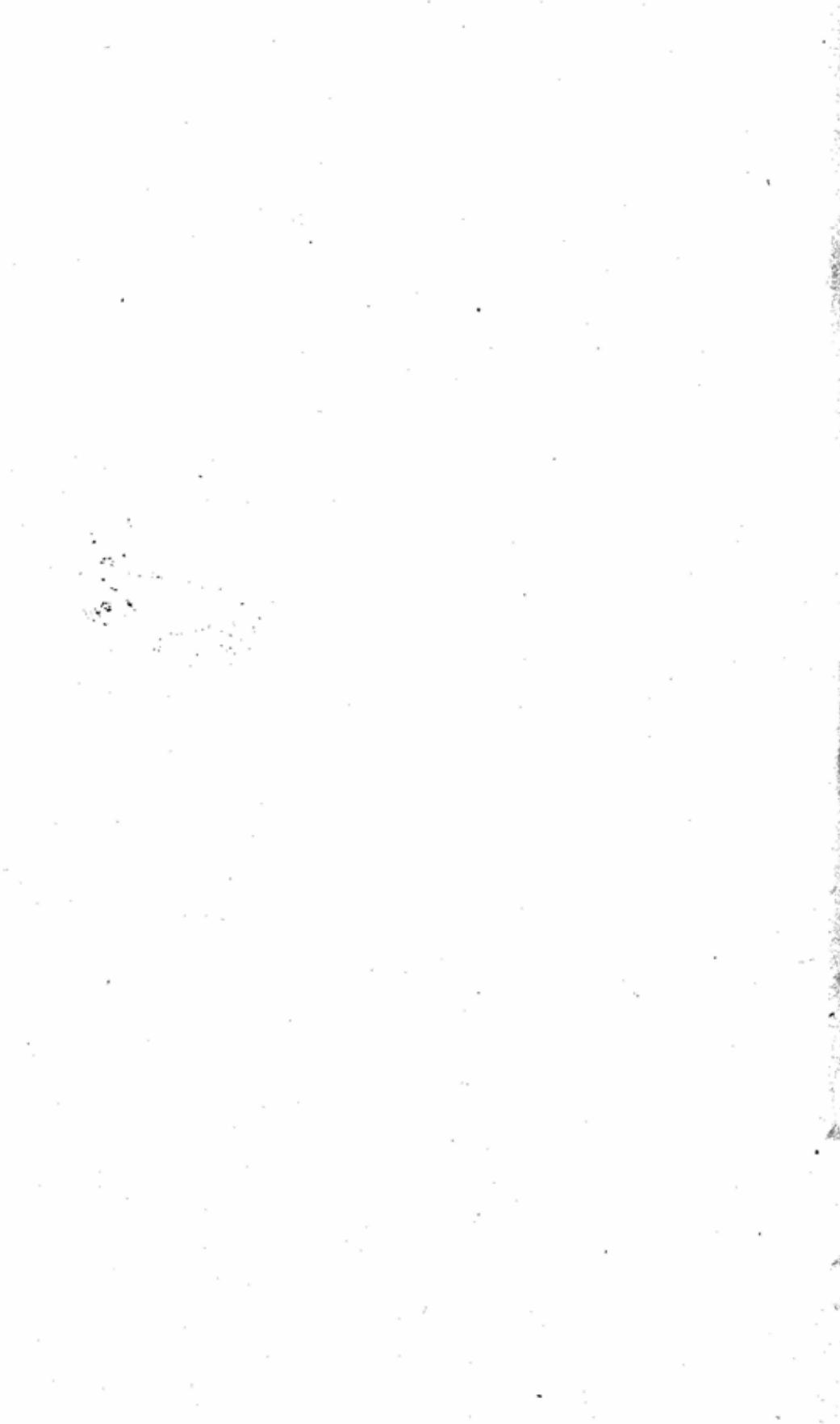
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BOOK VIII.

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ASHTÁDHYÁYI OF PANINI.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH,

27189 BY



SRISA CHANDRA VASU, B. A.,

*Provincial Civil Service, N. W. P.*

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TO

Hon'ble Sir John Edge, Lt. Q. C.,

LATE CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES

THIS WORK

IS,

WITH HIS LORDSHIP'S PERMISSION,  
AND IN RESPECTFUL APPRECIATION OF HIS LORDSHIP'S  
SERVICES TO THE CAUSE OF ADMINISTRATION OF  
JUSTICE AND OF EDUCATION

IN

THESE PROVINCES,

Dedicated

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S HUMBLE SERVANT

THE TRANSLATOR.





ओ३म् ।

## अथ अष्टमाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ।

### BOOK EIGHTH.

#### CHAPTER FIRST.

सर्वस्य द्वे ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वस्य, द्वे ॥  
चुक्तिः ॥ सर्वस्येति च द्वे इति चैतदधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् । इत उत्तरं यद्वक्ष्यामः प्राक् पदस्येत्यतः सर्वस्य द्वे  
भवत इत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

1. From here upto VIII. 1. 15 inclusive, is to be supplied always the phrase "the whole word is repeated".

This is an adhikâra sûtra. Whatever will be taught hereafter upto पदस्य (VIII. 1. 16) exclusive, there the phrase सर्वस्य द्वे should be supplied to complete the sense. Thus VIII. 1. 4. teaches "when the sense is that of 'always', and 'each'." Here the phrase 'the whole word is repeated' should be supplied to complete the sense. i. e. "The whole word is repeated when the sense is that of *always* and *each*". What is to be repeated? That which is most appropriate in sound and sense both. Thus one पचाति becomes two, as पचाति पचाति 'he always cooks'. Similarly आनो आनो रमणीयः 'every village is beautiful'.

The sûtra 'sarvasya dve', should not be confounded as meaning 'the word-form *sarva* is doubled'. For then rules like VI. 1. 99, and VI. 1. 100 will find no scope. The word *sarva* has several meanings: (1) the totality of *things* (इच्छाः) as सर्वस्विद्वाति, (2) the totality of *modes* (प्रकारः) सर्वान्नीनोभिष्ठुः = सर्वप्रकारमन्त्रं भक्षयाति; (3) the totality of *members* (अवयवः), as सर्वः पटोऽग्नः ॥ In the present sûtra, the word *sarva* has this last sense: namely *all* the *members* of a word are doubled, no portion is omitted. The force of the genitive case in sarvasya, is that of *sthâna*, i. e. in the *room* of the *whole* of the words like परि &c there is doubling. So one meaning of the sûtra is, that in the *room* of the one word, two are *substituted*. In making such *substitution*, we must have regard to the rule of nearness.

Another meaning of the sūtra however is, that it does not teach *substitution* but *repetition* or *employment*, not ādesā, but prayoga. That is to say, one word is *employed* twice. In this sense, of course, there is no room left for finding out the proper substitute. The very word-form, पञ्चति &c, is employed twice, i. e. is repeated twice or pronounced twice.

The word sarvasya is employed in the sūtra for the sake of distinctness only. Otherwise, one may double only the last *letter* of a word by the rule of अलोडन्तस्य, though that rule is not, strictly speaking, applicable to such cases.

Obj. The word पदस्य should be employed in the sūtra, in order to prevent the application of the rule to Samāsa (compound), to taddhitas, and to vākyas (sentences). Thus सप्तपर्णीदापदम् ॥ Here there is the sense of vipsā with regard to seven leaves, and does not mean a tree having seven leaves. There ought to have been doubling; but it would not take place, if we take the word padasya in the aphorism. Similarly विपदिकां दशाति, here also the sense is that of vipsā, and there ought to have been doubling, before the affixing of the taddhita affix. So also in यामे यामे पानविष्म् the sentence यामे पानविष्म् is not doubled, if we employ padasya. So the word padasya, should be employed in the sūtra. Moreover, it would prevent our employing the word padasya again in VIII. 1. 16.

*Ans.* We could not employ the word padasya in this sūtra, for then the rule would become very much restricted. Moreover in the above examples, there can be no doubling; for सप्तपर्णः means 'that whose every twig bears seven leaves पर्णं पर्णं सप्तपर्णानि अस्यः so that the sense of vipsā is not here inherent in the word sapta or parna. In the case of the taddhita example, there would be no doubling, because the *force* of vipsā is there denoted by the taddhita *affix* itself, and so doubling is not *necessary*. Moreover, a sentence can never be doubled, because vipsā can take place with regard to a *word*, and not a sentence. Therefore the word पदस्य should not be employed in the sūtra.

On the contrary, if we employ the word padasya in the sūtra, it would give rise to the following anomalies. We could not have प्रपञ्चाति प्रपञ्चाति ; for upasarga being considered as a separate pada, only पञ्चति would be doubled, and प्र would not. So also, we have two forms द्रोग्धा and द्रोदा ॥ Here हृच् is added to the root हृह्, and ह् is optionally changed to घ by VIII. 2. 77, and in the other alternative there is द् ॥ As घ and द् are both asiddha (VIII. 2. 1), the doubling would take place without making this घ or द् substitution. So that having first doubled the word ( something as द्रोहता द्रोहता ) then optional घ or द् change will take place, and we shall get wrong forms, like द्रोग्धा द्रोदा, द्रोदा द्रोग्धा in doubling. While the correct forms are द्रोदा द्रोदा, or द्रोग्धा द्रोग्धा, and not the hybrid doubling as given above. Hence the necessity of the vārtika पूर्वत्रासिद्धीयम्-द्विर्वचने (See VIII. 2. 3 last vārtika).

Or the word सर्व may be considered to be formed by अच् affix of अस्ति आच्, meaning सर्वं कायं यस्मिन्नास्ति तदिदं सर्वं, तस्य है भवतः ॥ That is, all operations having been *first* performed, *then* the word is doubled; so that a word in its inchoate state is not doubled.

तस्य परमाम्रेडितम् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, परम, आम्रेडितम् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ तस्य द्विरुक्तस्य यथपरं शाद्भूषणं तदाम्रेडितसंज्ञं भवति ॥

2. Of that which is twice

2. Of that which is twice uttered, the latter word-form is called *âmredita* (repeated).

Thus in चौर चौर ३, वृश्ल वृश्ल ३ इत्योऽपि धातयिष्यामि त्वा, बन्धयिष्यामि त्वा, the second word being अम्रेदित् is *pluta*. The word अम्रेदित् occurs in Sûtras VI. 1. 99, VIII. 1. 57, VIII. 2. 95, VIII. 10. 3 &c.

The तस्य here denotes avayava-shash्ठि : and the word परः denotes the avayava. In fact, this sūtra indicates by implication, that a Genitive case is employed, when a member (avayava) is denoted. So that the sentences like पूर्वे कायस्य become valid.

In the above examples, the word has become *pluta* by VIII. 2. 95.

अनुदात्तं च ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तम्, च ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तं च तद्रवति यदामेडितसंशब्दम् ॥

3. That which is called *āmredita* is gravely accented.

Thus भुद्धके भुद्धके ; पशून् पशून् ॥

नित्यवीप्सयोः ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्य, वीप्सयोः ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ नित्ये चार्थे वीप्सायां च यद्युत्ते तस्य है भवतः ॥

4. The whole word is repeated when the sense is of 'always' and 'each'.

What words express 'always'? The finite verbs, and the Indeclinable words, formed by krit affixes. What 'always' is meant here? The word 'nitya' here means 'again and again', and this idea of 'repetition' is the quality of an action. That action which the agent does principally, without cessation, is called "nitya". So that *nitya* refers to an action (See III. 4. 22). Thus पचाति पचति 'he cooks continually'. जल्पति जल्पति 'he talks incessantly'. भुक्त्वा भुक्त्वा ब्रजति or

भोजं भोजं ब्रजति 'each one, when he has eaten goes away.' See III. 4. 22. लुनीहि लुनीहीवेवायं लुनाति (See III. 4. 2). The affixes *kta* and *namul* formed words and the Imperative mood express the idea of 'again and again', only when they are repeated. While the words formed with the affix अङ् (Intensive) express this idea by the inherent force of the affix, without repetition. Thus उनः उनः पचति = पापच्यते ॥ And when this intensive action is continually done, then this word also should be repeated; as पापच्यते पापच्यते ॥ In the above, examples have been given of nitya, as illustrated by finite verbs like पचति. Indeclinable *krit* words like शुक्ला, and like भोजं ॥ Now for विष्टा ॥ In what words the विष्टा is found? It is found in nouns (सुष् formed words). As finite verbs (तिङ्) express nitya, so inflected nouns (सुष्) express *vipsā* or a distributive sense. What is meant by the word *vipsā*? It is the wish of the agent to pervade (*vyāptum ichchhā*) an object through and through with a certain quality or action. That is, when many objects are wished to be pervaded by the speaker, with a particular attribute or action simultaneously, it is *vipsā*. Thus ग्रामो ग्रामो रमणीयः 'every village is beautiful'. So also जनपदो जनपदो रमणीयः पुरुषः पुरुषो निधनमुपैति ॥

When a finite verb is repeated owing to the idea of nityatā; and we also wish to add to such a verb the affix denoting comparative or superlative degree, such affix must be added after the word has been repeated, as पचति पचतितरम् ॥ But in the case of a noun, which is repeated owing to *vipsā*, the whole superlative or comparative word should be repeated, as आङ्गतरमाङ्गतरमानय ॥

**परेव्यजने ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ परेः, वर्जने ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ परीत्यतस्य वर्जनेर्ये हौ भवतः ॥  
वाच्चिकम् ॥ परेव्यजनेऽसमासे वेति वल्लव्यम् ॥

5. The word परि is repeated when employed in the sense of 'with the exception or exclusion of'.

As परि परि त्रिगतेभ्यो वृष्टो देवः (I. 4. 88 and II. 3. 10) 'It rained round about (but with the exclusion of) Trigarta'. Similarly परि परि सौवीरेभ्यः, परि परि सर्वसेनेभ्यः॥ Why do we say when meaning exclusion? Observe ओदनं परिषिञ्चति ॥

*Värt*:—Optionally परि, meaning 'exclusion', is repeated when it occurs not in a compound, as परि परि त्रिगतेभ्यः or परि त्रिगतेभ्यः ॥ In a compound, there is no repetition as, परित्रिगते वृष्टो देवः, because the word परि has not the meaning of exclusion only here; in fact, the whole compound word denotes here the idea of exclusion, and not the word परि alone.

The word परि is here a Karmapravachaniya (I. 4. 88), and governs the fifth case by II. 3. 11. In परिषिञ्चति the word is an upasarga.

**प्रसमुपोदः पादपूरणे ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्र, सम, उप, उदः, पाद पूरणे ॥**  
वृत्तिः ॥ प्र सम उप उद् इत्येतेषां पादपूरणे हौ भवतो द्विव्यचनेन चेत्यादः पूर्थते ॥

6. प्र, सम्, उँ and उत् are repeated, when by so doubling, the foot of a verse is completed.

As प्र प्रायमनिभरतस्य भृण्ये (Rig VII. 8.4), संसमिद्युवसे वृष्टन् ॥ (Rig X. 191. 1), उपो मे परामृश (Rig I. 126. 7), किं नोदुहु हर्षसे दातवाऽ (Rig IV. 21. 9). Why do we say when 'a foot of a verse is completed there by'? Observe प्रदेवं देव्या धिया ॥ This rule applies only to the Vedic verses, for there alone the Preposition may be used separate from its verb. In the secular literature, this rule has no applicability, as Prepositions are never so used.

उपर्युध्यधसः सामीप्ये ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपरि, अधि, अधसः, सामीप्ये ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ उपरि अधि अधस् इत्येतेषां द्वे भवतः सामीप्ये विवक्षिते ॥

7. उपरि, अधि, and अधस् are repeated, when it expresses uninterrupted nearness.

The word *sāmipyā* means 'proximity' whether in time or space. As उपर्युपरि दुःखम्, or उपर्युपरि आमम्, अध्यधि आमम्, अधोधो नगरम् ॥ Why do we say 'meaning near'? Observe उपरि चन्द्रमाः ॥ Why the word is not repeated here: उपरि शिरसो घटं धारयति ॥ The relation expressed here is not that of nearness, but that of above and below.

उपर्युपरि पश्यन्तः सर्वे एव दरिद्रतिः ।  
अधोधो दर्शने कस्य महिमा नोपजायते ॥

Here the doubling is in the sense of *vipsā*.

वाक्यादेरामन्वितस्यासूयासंमतिकोपकुत्सनभर्त्सनेषु ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाक्य-  
आदेः, आमन्वितस्य, असूया, संमति, कोप, कुत्सन, भर्त्सनेषु ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ एकार्थः पदसमूहो वाक्यम् । वाक्यादेरामन्वितस्य द्वे भवतः असूया संमति कोप कुत्सन भर्त्सनइत्ये-  
तेषु यदि तद्वाक्यं भवति ॥

8. A Vocative, at the beginning of a sentence, is repeated, when envy, praise, anger, blame, or threat is meant by the speaker.

A collocation of words, expressing one idea, is called a sentence or *vākya*. Thus (1) envy:—माणवका॒ ३ माणवक अ॑भिरूपका॒ ३ अभिरूपक इत्तं ते आभिरूप्यम् ॥ (2) praise — माणवका॒ ३ माणवक अ॑भिरूपका॒ ३ अभिरूपक शोभनः खल्वसि ॥ (3) anger :— माणवका॒ ३ माणवक अ॑विनीतका॒ ३ अविनीतक इदानीं ज्ञात्यसि जाल्म ॥ (4) blame :— शैक्षिके॒ ३ शैक्षिके यटिके॒ ३ यटिके स्त्रिका॒ ते शक्तिः ॥ (5) Threat—चार चौर्णे॒ ३ वृष्टल वृश्लां॒ ३ घातयिष्यामि त्वा, बन्धयिष्यामि त्वा ॥ The first word becomes *pluta* as well as gets *svarita* accent, by VIII. 2. 103, in the case of the first four; in the case of 'threat', the second word or the *āmreḍita* becomes *pluta* by VIII. 2. 95. Why do we say "at the beginning of a sentence"? The Vocative in the middle or the end of a sentence is not to be repeated, as शोभन खल्वसि माणवकः ॥ Why do we say of a Vocative? Observe उदादोदेवदत्तः ॥ Why do we say 'when meaning envy &c'. Observe देवदत्त गामयाज शुक्लाम् ॥

In some books, the *vâkya* is defined as 'a collocation of words having one finite verb', (एकतिह पदसमूहो वाक्यं) ॥ In the first example, कन् is added.

**एकं बहुव्रीहिवत् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकम्, बहुव्रीहि, वत् ॥**

बृत्तिः ॥ एक मित्रतच्छब्दरूपं हिस्त्वं बहुव्रीहिवद्वति ॥

9. When एक is repeated, it is treated like a member a of Bahuvrihi compound.

The making it a Bahuvrihi is for the sake of eliding the case-affix, and treating the word as a masculine, even when it refers to a feminine. Thus एकैकमक्षरं पठति (not एकंकम्), एकैकयाहुत्या जुहोति (not एकैयेकया). The accent is regulated by VI. 2. 1. the case-affix is elided by II. 4 71, and masculinising by VI. 3. 34. This double word एकैक should not however be treated like a Bahuvrihi for the purposes of the application of the following three rules, (1) The sūtra I. 1. 29 by which pronouns are not declined as pronouns when members of a Bahuvrihi compound. The word एकैक however is declined like a Pronoun, as एकैकस्मै ॥ For sūtra I. 1. 29 applies to a compound which is *really* a Bahuvrihi, and not to a word-form which is treated *like* a Bahuvrihi. The repetition of the word Bahuvrihi in that sūtra, though its anuvritti was understood from the preceding one; indicates this. (2) The application of the rule of accent. Thus by the following sūtra, a word is repeated when a mental pain or affliction over something is expressed. Thus नन करोति, सुसुजागति ॥ This double-word is treated *like* a Bahuvrihi, but not for the purposes of accent. For by VI. 2. 172 a Bahuvrihi preceded by न or सु gets acute on the final, but not so नन or सुसु ॥ Here four rules of accent present themselves 1st VI. 1. 223 ordaining acute on the final, 2nd VI. 2. 1 the first member retaining its accent, 3rd VI. 2. 172 already mentioned, 4th VIII. 1. 3 by which the second member becomes anudātta. The rule VI. 2. 1 however regulates the accent, in supersession of the other three. (3) The third rule which does not apply to this Bahuvrihi-vat एकैक is the rule of samāsanta affixing. Thus करु करु, पूः पूः (doubled by VIII. 1. 10) do not get the samāsanta affix अ by V. 4. 74.

**आवाधेच ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ आ, वाधे, च ॥**

बृत्तिः ॥ आवाधनमावाधः । पीडाप्रयोक्त धर्मः । तत्र वर्त्मानस्य है भवतः बहुव्रीहिवचास्य कार्यं भवति ॥

10. A word is repeated, and is treated like a member of Bahuvrihi compound, when a mental distress over something is expressed.

Thus गतेगतः 'gone, gone to my affliction', नटनटः, पतितपतितः, in the masculine, and गतगता, नटनटा, पतितपतिता in the Feminine (not गतागता for the reasons given in the preceding aphorism). The accent is governed by VI. 2. 1.

कर्मधारयवुत्तरेषु ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मधारय, वत्, उत्तरेषु ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ इत उत्तरेषु द्विर्वचनेषु कर्मधारयवल्कायैं भवतीत्येतद्वित्यम् । कर्मधारयत्वे प्रयोजनं सुब्लोप-  
पुंवज्ञावान्तोवान्तवानि ॥

11. In the following rules, the double-word is treated like a Karmadhâraya compound.

The reason for making it a Karmadhâraya is to elide the case - affix (II. 4. 71), to make the first member a masculine term even when the word refers to a feminine (VI. 3. 42), and to regulate the accent by VI. 1. 223. Thus पटपटः, चृदुश्चृदुः where the first member has lost the case-affix. पटपट्टी, चृदुश्चृदी where the first member is treated as a masculine, even when there is a क in the penultimate as कालकालिका ( See VI. 3. 37 and 42); पटपट्टः, पटपट्टी, the accent falls on the final, for the rule VI. 1. 223 was debarred by VIII. 1. 3, but the present rule re-instates VI. 1. 223. The word उत्तरेषु is for the sake of distinctness, the sûtra being an adhikâra one, would have applied to the subsequent aphorisms, without even the word uttareshu.

प्रकारे गुणवचनस्य ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रकारे, गुण-वचनस्य ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकारे भेदः सादृश्यं च । तदिह सादृश्यं प्रकारे गृह्णते । प्रकारे वर्त्तमानस्य गुणवचनस्य  
द्वे भवतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आनुपूर्व्ये द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ स्वार्थे अगर्धार्यमाणेनेकस्मिन्द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥  
वा० ॥ चापले द्वेभवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ क्रियासमभिहोरे द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥  
वा० ॥ आभीश्वर्ये द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ डाचि द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥  
वा० ॥ पूर्वप्रथमयोरर्थातिशयविवक्षायां द्वेभवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥  
वा० ॥ उत्तरडतमयोः समसंप्रधारणयोः खी निर्गद भावे द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥  
वा० ॥ कर्मव्यतिहारे सर्वनामो द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् सामासवच वहुलम् ॥  
वा० ॥ खीनपुंसकयोरुत्तरपद्यस्य चाम्बावो वक्तव्यः ॥

12. An adjective is repeated, when it is meant to express that the said attribute belongs to a thing only to a limited degree, and the double word is treated like a Karmadhâraya.

The word प्रकार means both 'difference' and 'resemblance'. It means 'resemblance' here : i. e. the person or thing *resembles*, but is not *fully like*, the thing expressing the attribute. Thus पटपट्टः, 'tolerably sharp', चृदुश्चृदुः: "pretty soft", पिण्डतपिण्डतः: &c. The sense is that the attribute is not *fully possessed* by the person. The affix जातीय (V. 3. 69) also expressing प्रकार, is not debarred by this sûtra. Thus पटजातीयः, चृदुजातीयः ॥

Why do we say prakârē "when denoting somewhat like it"? Observe पटदेवदत्तः 'the clever Devadatta'. Why do we say 'an attributive or adjective word'? Observe अनिर्माणवकः, 'a fiery boy', गौ वाहीकः 'a cow-like Bâhika'. Here

'agni' and 'gau' are not naturally adjective words, though employed here like adjectives.

*Vārt*.—An adjective is repeated when denoting that persons or things possessing that attribute are to be taken in their due order. Thus मूले मूले स्थूलाः, अयं अये सूक्ष्माः, उद्युष्टं उद्युष्टं प्रवेशायः ॥

*Vārt*.—A word denoting more than one is repeated without change of sense, when it denotes the limit or extent of the thing. Thus अस्मात् कार्षपणादिह भवद्भावां माषं माषं देहि 'give a māsha, a māsha out of this kārshāpana to you two': i.e. give only *two* masha one to each. A kārshāpana contains many māshas, out of them, the extent of gift is *limited* to two only. This therefore is distinguishable from the distributive double (*vipsā*). The words माषं माषं देहि = द्वौ-देहि; the माष does not take the dual case here. Why do we say when it expresses the limit'? Observe अस्मात् कार्षपणादिह भवद्भावां माषमेकं देहि, द्वौमाषां दोह, चीन्वा माषान् देहि. Here the word माष itself does not express limit, but the qualifying words एकं, द्वौ, चीन् &c. Why do we say 'denoting more than one'? Observe अस्मात् कार्षपणादिह भवद्भावां माषमेकं देहि ॥

*Vārt*.—In expressing perplexity or alarm, a word may be repeated twice. The word चापल in the *vārtika* means 'a confused state of mind'. As अहिरहि: बुध्यस्व बुध्यस्व "a snake, a snake, beware. beware". It is not a necessary condition that the word should be repeated twice only, but as many times as one likes, so long as his meaning is not manifest. As : अहि: अहि: अहि:, बुध्यस्व बुध्यस्व ॥

*Vārt*.—When intensity or frequency of an action is denoted, the word is uttered twice: as, स भवान् लुनीहि लुनोहि इत्यावायं लुनाति ॥ See III. 4. 2.

*Vārt*.—In re-iteration the word is doubled; as, भुक्ता भुक्ता ब्रजति, भोजं भोजं ब्रजति ॥ See III. 4. 22. This has also been illustrated under VIII. 1. 4.

*Vārt*.—The word is repeated when the affix डाच् follows; as, पटपटा करोति, पटपटायते ॥ This doubling takes place when the word denotes an imitation of an inarticulate sound (V. 4. 57). Therefore, not here, हितीया करोति, तृतीया करोति, where the affix डाच् denotes 'to plough', (V. 4. 58). Because of this restriction, some read the *vārtika* as, डाचि बहुलम् ॥

*Vārt*.—The words पूर्वं and प्रथमं are repeated when a comparative or superlative sense is to be denoted: as पूर्वं पूर्वं पुष्प्यन्ति, प्रथमं प्रथमं पच्यन्ते ॥ The comparative and superlative affixes are not debarred hereby, as, पूर्वतं पुष्प्यन्ति, प्रथमतं पच्यन्ते ॥

*Vārt*.—The words ending in the affixes डत् and डत्न (comparative and superlative), are doubled when they refer to feminine nouns and are employed in determining or pondering upon the relative condition of the superiority of one out of two or many; as उभाविमावाक्यौ, कतरा कतरा अनयोराक्यता "Both these are rich: let us ponder how much is their richness." सर्वं इमे जात्याः, कतमा कतमा एषाम-

**अवर्ती ॥** This is found in words other than those ending in तर and तम; as; उभाविमावाङ्गौ, किटशी किटशी अनयोराव्यता ॥ This is also found where the abstract noun denoting condition ( as आव्यता ) is not in the feminine : as, उभाविमावाङ्गौ, कतरु कतरेऽनयोर्विभवः : “ Both these are rich, let us see what is their respective greatness.”

**Vārt:**—In denoting reciprocity of action, the Pronominal is doubled; and diversely it is treated like a compound (II. 2. 27) when it is not treated like a compound, then the first word is always exhibited in the nominative singular. See I. 3. 14, III. 3. 43, and V. 4. 127. Thus, अन्यनन्यमिमे ब्राह्मणा भोजयन्ति “these Brāhmaṇas feed one another.” अन्योऽन्यमिमे ब्राह्मणा भोजयन्ति ॥ अन्योऽन्यस्य ब्राह्मणां भोजयन्ति = इतरेतरान् भोजयन्ति ॥ The word अन्य and पर are never treated as a compound, and इतर is *always* so treated. The following are from Siddhānta Kaumudi:— अन्योऽन्यौ, अन्योऽन्यान्, अन्योऽन्येनकृतं, अन्योऽन्यसैदतं, अन्योऽन्येषां पुष्करैराष्ट्रशते ( Māgh ) परस्परं ॥

**Vārt:**—In the feminine and neuter, the augment अंश् is added optionally to the second term under the above circumstances, as, अन्योऽन्यमिमे ब्राह्मण्गौ भोजयतः, अन्योऽन्यं भोजयतः, इतरेतरां भोजयतः, इतरेतरं भोजयतः ॥ अन्योऽन्यमिमे ब्राह्मणकुले भोजयतः, इतरेतरामिमे ब्राह्मणकुलं भोजयतः ॥

अकृच्छेप्रियसुखयोरन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-कृच्छे, प्रिय, सुखयोः, अन्यतेरस्याम् ॥

**13.** The words ‘priya’-and ‘sukha’ are repeated optionally, when they mean “easily, without any difficulty”.

The word कृच्छ् means ‘difficulty and sorrow’, अकृच्छ् means ‘without difficulty or sorrow, i. e. pleasantly’. Thus प्रियप्रियेण ददाति, सुखसुखेन ददाति, or प्रियेण ददाति, सुखेन ददाति = अतिप्रियमपि वस्त्व नायासेन ददाति ॥ That is, he gives with pleasure, without feeling it as a trouble. Why do we say “when meaning easily”? Observe मिदः पुत्रः: “beloved son”. सुखी रथः ॥

यथास्वे यथायथम् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यथा स्वे, यथां यथम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यो व आत्मा यद्यात्मीय तत्त्वयथास्वं तस्मिन् यथायथमिति निपात्यते । यथांशब्दस्य दिर्घ्यते न तु सक्रियता च निपात्यते ॥

**14.** The word यथायथम् is irregularly formed in the sense of “respectively, fitly, properly”.

What is one’s own nature, and whatever is natural to one, that is called यथास्व ॥ In this sense is formed यथायथम् there being doubling and neuter gender. It is an Indeclinable. As ज्ञाताः सर्वे पदार्थाः यथायथम्=यथास्वभावं “all objects have been known according to their respective nature”. सर्वेषां तु यथायथ=यथालीबं ॥

द्वन्द्वं रहस्यमर्यादावचनव्युत्क्रमणयज्ञपात्रप्रयोगाभिव्यक्तिषु ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वन्द्वम्, रहस्य, मर्यादा वचन, व्युत्क्रमण, यज्ञ पात्र प्रयोग, अभि व्यक्तिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दून्दूमिति द्विशब्दस्य विर्वचनं पूर्वपदस्याम्भावः अत्वं चोक्तरपदस्य निपात्यते रहस्य मर्यादावचनं व्युक्तमण यज्ञपात्र प्रयोग अभिव्यक्तिः एतेषु अयेषु ॥

15. The word “dvandvam” is irregularly formed, in the sense of ‘secret’, and when it expresses a ‘limit’, ‘a separation’, ‘employing in a sacrificial vessel’, and ‘manifestation’.

The word दून्दू is formed from द्वि by doubling it, changing the first द् into अ, and the second द् into अ ॥ The word दून्दू itself means रहस्य or secret; while it marks ‘limit’ मर्यादा &c only secondarily, by context of the sentence. Thus दून्दू मन्त्रयते ‘they are consulting some secret’. Limit or मर्यादावचनः, as, धाचतुरं तीने पश्चात् दून्दू मिथुनायते = माता पुत्रेण मिथुनं गच्छति, पौत्रेण, तत्पुत्रेणापि ॥ (See Maitr. S. I. 7. 3 Sankh. Br. III. 97). Separation of व्युक्तमणः—दून्दूव्युक्तान्तः = द्विर्वर्गसम्बन्धेन पृथगवस्थिताः ॥ Vyutkramana means bheda or separation, placing at a different place. Employment with regard to a sacrificial vessel (यज्ञपात्रप्रयोगः) as— दून्दू यज्ञपात्राणि प्रयुक्तिवीरः ( See I. 3. 64 ) ॥ अभिव्यक्तिः or manifestation : as— दून्दू नारदपर्वतौ, दून्दू संकर्षण वाचुदेवौ = द्वावप्यभिव्यक्तौ साहचर्येण ॥

The word दून्दू is found employed in connection with other senses also; as, दून्दू युज्ञं वर्तते, दून्दूनि सहेतधीरः चार्थे दून्दूः &c.

**पदस्य ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदस्य ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ पदस्येत्यमधिकारः प्रागपशान्ताधिकारात् । अदित उर्ज्जमनुकमिष्यामः पदस्येत्व तद्वित्तव्यम् ॥

16. Upto VIII. 3. 54, inclusive, should be always supplied in every subsequent sūtra, the phrase “of a word”, or “to the whole of a word”.

This is an adhikāra sūtra, and extends up to VIII. 3. 55. Whatever we shall treat of here-after, should be understood to apply to a full ‘pada’ or a completed word. Thus VIII. 2. 23, (संयोगान्तस्य लोऽः) teaches “there is elision of the final of what ends in a conjunct consonant”. The word पदस्य must be supplied here to complete the sense : viz, of a word which ends in a conjunct consonant, the final is elided. Thus पचन्, यजन्, from पचन्त् and यजन्त् ॥

Why do we say ‘of a Pada’? Observe पचन्तौ, यजन्तौ where the त् though sanyogānta is not elided, because the stem is no longer called pada. The force of the Genitive in पदस्य must be construed according to the context, sometimes as sthāna-shashṭhi i.e. “in the room of the *whole* pada”; and sometimes as avayava-shashṭhi i.e. “of a pada-of the *portion* of a pada”.

**पदात् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदात् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ पदादित्यमधिकार प्राक्कुत्सने च सुन्यगोत्रादावित्येतसाचादित उर्ज्जमनुकमिष्यामः पदादित्यर्व तद्वित्तव्यम् ॥

17. Upto VIII. 1. 68, inclusive should always be supplied the phrase “after a pada”.

Whatever we shall teach hereafter should be understood to apply to that which comes *after a pada*. Thus the sūtra VIII. 1. 19, teaches "of an āmantrita". The phrase पश्चात्, must be supplied to complete the sense. That is, "of a pada, which is in the Vocative case, and which comes after another pada, all vowels become anudātta". Thus पचसि देवदत्तं "Cookest thou, O Devadatta". Why do we say, "after a pada"? Observe देवदत्तं पचसि ॥ Here Devadatta is not anudātta (VI. 1. 198).

अनुदात्तं सर्वमपादादौ ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तम्, सर्वम्, अ-पाद-आदौ ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तमिति च सर्वमिति च अपादाशाविति च एतच्यमधिकृतं वैदितव्यमापाइपरिसमाप्ते, रित  
च्छरं यद्यक्ष्यामः अनुदात्तं सर्वमपादाशावित्येवं तद्वित्ययम् ॥

18. Upto VIII. 1. 74, inclusive is to be supplied the phrase "The whole is unaccented, if it does not stand at the beginning of the foot of a verse".

The three words anudāttam "unaccented", śarvam "the whole", and apādādau "not in the beginning of a Pāda of a verse", should be understood to exert a governing influence over all the subsequent sūtras of this chapter, upto its end. Whatever we shall treat of hereafter, must be understood to be wholly unaccented, provided that, it does not stand as the first word of a verse or stanza. Thus VIII. 1. 19, says "of a Vocative". The whole of this sūtra should be read there to complete the sense, viz : "all the syllables of a Vocative are unaccented when a word precedes it, and it does not stand as the first word of a hemistich"; as पचसि देवदत्तं ॥

Why do we say "when not at the beginning of a hemistich"? Observe अते नियतं रजसं चूलो अनवधृष्ट्यम्, here चूलो though in the Vocative case, is not anudātta, as it stands at the beginning of a Pāda.

Similarly VIII. 1. 21, teaches "वः and नः are the substitutes of युष्मद् असाद् in the plural". The present sūtra must be read there to complete the sense, viz, when not at the beginning of a verse. Thus आमोवः स्वं, जनपदो नः स्वम् ॥ But at the beginning of a hemistich, we must have the forms युष्माकं and असाकं instead of वः and नः ॥ As,

रुद्रो विभेश्वरो देवो युष्माकं कुलदेवता ।  
स एव नायो भौगवानस्माकं शङ्खमर्दनः ॥

The word पाद् in the sūtra refers both to the hemistiches of the sacred Rik hymns, as well as to secular ślokas.

Q. Why do we employ the word सर्वं in the sūtra?

*Ans.* The word sarvam is used in the sūtra, in order to indicate that a word, which has not acute accent on the first syllable, should also become anudātta. For the word पश्चात् (VIII. 1. 17) is in the ablative case, and shows that the operation taught in any sūtra governed by it, will be performed on

the *first* syllable, according to the maxim अदृष्टः परस्य ॥ Therefore, by rule VIII. I. 28, the word पैचति, which is acutely accented on the *first* syllable, (because शप् and तिष् are anudātta), will only lose its accent in देवदत्तः पैचति; but not so the verb करोति which is acutely accented in the middle (by the vikarana accent) in देवदत्तः करोति ॥ But by force of the word सर्वं, करोति also loses its accent.

Q. This cannot be the reason, for the author indicates by his prohibition in Sūtra VIII. I. 29, that a verb loses its accent, *where ever* that accent may be. For there is no verb when conjugated in लृत् which has acute on the *first* syllable.

*Ans.* The word 'sarvam' is used to prevent the operation of अलोडन्त्यादीषिः; for where the rule अदृष्टः परस्य will not apply there the other will apply: so that, if "sarvam" was not used, the rule would apply to the finals, and not to cases where there were other than initials to be operated upon. Thus the rule VIII. I. 28 would apply to कुरुतेः which is finally acute by VI. I. 186, in देवदत्तयज्ञदत्तौ कुरुतेः; but not to देवदत्तः करोति ॥

Q. No; this cannot be the reason of employing the word 'sarvam' in the sūtra, for the author indicates that the rule is not confined to the *finals*, by the prohibition he makes in favor of लृत् in VIII. I. 51; for there is no verb, when conjugated in Lṛit, which has acute on the final. All Lṛit is acute in the middle by VI. I. 186. So the अलोडन्त्यस्य rule does not apply.

*Ans.* The word 'sarvam' is used for this reason. Had 'sarvam', not been used, then in those cases where there was no other rule to apply, like VIII. I. 19, there *only* the word would become anudātta. But in cases where another rule also operated, there this anudātta rule would not apply, for then there would be two different sentences. For a thing which is already in existence can be made the subject of a rule ordering certain operations to be performed on it; but not so a thing which will come in existence in future time. Thus the words वा and नै are ordained as substitutes of yushmad and asmad by one sentence VIII. I. 20; while another sentence ordains their anudatta-hood. So here there is separation of sentences (vākya-bheda): which is not desireable; for a vākya bheda should be avoided, if possible. But by employing the word 'sarvam', this vākya-bheda is made tolerable.

Another reason for employing this word is that the substitutes वा and नै should come in the room of the *whole declined* forms of yushmad and asmad, with their case-affixes. Had not this word (sarvam) been used, then वा and नै would have replaced only 'yushmad' and 'asmad'. Obj. Will not the anuvritti of the word 'padasya', cause the *whole declined word* to be replaced by वा and नै, not only the crude-forms yushmad and asmad? And there cannot be a full word unless it takes case-affixes; so the whole of yushmad and asmad with their case-affixes will be replaced. Where is the necessity of using the word 'sar-

यम्? Ans. This objection will apply to those cases where a Pada is a word ending in a case-affix. But the word पद is a technical term also, and applies to crude forms before certain case-affixes. Thus a nominal *stem* (not a *full* word) is also called Pada by I. 4. 17, before non-sarvanamasthana case-affixes. Therefore yushmad and asmad will be *pada* before those affixes. Thus before the affix of Dative Dual, they will be called Pada; and had सर्वं not been used, then only "yushmad" and "asmad" will be replaced and not their case-affixes. Thus आमो वां दीयते, जनपदो नौ दीयते ॥ Here वां and नौ would require after them the case-affix यां otherwise.

आमन्वितस्य च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आमन्वितस्य, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आमन्वितस्य पुदस्य पदात्परस्यापादादौ वर्त्मानस्य सर्वस्यानुवाचो भवति ॥  
वास्तिकम् ॥ समान वाक्ये निघात युग्मद स्मदादेशा वक्तव्या ॥

19. All the syllables of a Vocative are unaccented when a word precedes it, and it does not stand at the beginning of a hemistich.

Thus पचसि देवदत्त, पचसि वृजदत्त ॥ The Vocative is acutely accented on the first by VI. I. 198, the present makes it all unaccented.

*Vārtikā*:—The rules relating to nighāta (by which all syllables of a word become unaccented, such as the present, and VIII. I. 28 &c) and to the substitutes of yushmad and asmad apply then only, when the preceding word which would cause the nighāta or the substitution, is part of the same sentence with the latter word. Therefore not here:—अथं दण्डो, हरानेन ॥ “This is the staff. Carry by means of it.” Here हर does not lose its accent by VIII. I. 28, though preceded by the Noun दण्ड, because these are parts of two different sentences. ओदनं पच, तव भविष्यति । ओदनं पच, मम भविष्यति ॥ “Cook the food, it will be for thee. Cook the food, it will be for me.” That is the rice cooked by thee, will do both for thyself and myself. Here the ते and मे substitutions have not taken place (VIII. I. 22) for yushmad and asmad, for the same reason.

Another example is, भवतीह विष्णुमित्रो, इवदत्तागच्छ “Vishnumitra is here. Come back Devadatta.” Here Devadatta, though in the Vocative case, does not lose its accent. Nor can you say that समर्थः पदविधिः will make this vārtika redundant. In all the above examples, the different sentences are connected with each other in sense. Thus in the last example, Devadatta was searching for Vishnumitra, when some one says to him, ‘Here is V. come back D.’ Thus the two sentences are samartha, yet there is no nighāta. But the rule will apply here:—इह देवदत्त! माता ते कथयति । नद्यास्तिष्ठति (VIII. I. 28) कूलं । शालीनं ते ओदनं दास्थानि ॥ In the last examples the Vocatives, the verbs and the substitutes of yushmad and asmad are not in syntactical construction with the words that immediately precede them, and yet the nighāta rule &c does apply: inspite of the general maxim समर्थः पदविधिः (II. I. 1), for rules relating to completed words apply to such words only which are in construction.

In the last example, the construction is इह स्थिता माता ते देवदत्त, and not इह देवदत्त. Thus इह is in syntactical construction with स्थिता and not देवदत्त, yet it causes nighāta of Devadatta. Similarly in नव्यास्तिष्ठति कूलं, the word नव्या: is not in construction with तिष्ठति, but with कूलं, i.e. नव्या: कूलं तिष्ठति; yet it causes the nighāta of तिष्ठति ॥ Similarly शालीनां is not in construction with ते, but with घोड़नं, i.e. शालीना घोड़नं ते दास्यानि ॥ Yet it causes ते substitution of yushmad. Though the preceding words are not *samartha* with regard to the words that follow them, they cause the changes, because the words are in the *same* sentence,

**युष्मदस्मदोः पष्टीचतुर्थीद्वितीयास्थयोर्वाचावौ ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ युष्मद्, अस्मदोः; पष्टी, चतुर्थी, द्वितीयास्थयोः, वाम्, नावौ ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मद् इत्येतयोः पष्टीचतुर्थीद्वितीयास्थयोर्वाचावासंख्यं वान्नौ इत्येतावादेशौ भवतस्तौ चादुवात्तौ ॥

**20.** For the Genitive, Dative and Accusative Dual of yushmad and asmad, are substituted वाम् and नौ respectively, when a word precedes, and these substitutes are anudātta.

All the three sūtras पदस्य, पदात् and अनुवाचनं सर्वमपादाशै are applicable here. Thus मामो वां स्वम् । जनपदो नौ स्वम् । मामो वां दीयते । जनपदो नौ दीयते । मामो वां पश्यति । जनपदो नौ पश्यति ॥

These two वाम् and नौ come in the Dual only, because other substitutes have been taught for the Singular and Plural in the two subsequent sūtras.

Why do we say "for the Genitive, Dative and Accusative"? In other cases there will be no substitution. As, मामो युवार्ण्या कृतम् ॥ The word स्थ in the sūtra indicates that the case affixes must be express and not understood, for the purposes of this substitution. Therefore, not here: हस्ति युष्मत्युक्तः though here yushmat is preceded by a word in a sentence, and is in the Genitive case yet वः substitution (VIII. I. 21) does not take place, because the case-affix is elided,

**बहुवचनस्य वस्त्रसौ ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुवचनस्य, वस्, नसौ ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुवचनान्तयोर्युष्मदस्मदोः पष्टीचतुर्थीद्वितीयास्थयोर्वाचावासंख्यं वस् नस् इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

**21.** For (the Genitive, Dative, and Accusative) plural of yushmad and asmad are substituted वस् and नस् respectively, (when a word precedes, and these substitutes are anudātta).

Thus मामो तुः स्वम्, जनपदोन्नः स्वम्; मामो त्रौ दीयते, जनपदो त्रौ दीयते; मामो त्रुः पश्यति जनपदो नः पश्यति ॥

**तेऽयमेकवचनस्य २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ते, मयौ, एक, वचनस्य ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदेतिकवचनान्तयोः पष्टीचतुर्थीस्थयोर्वाचावासंख्यं ते मे इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

**22.** For the Genitive and Dative Singular (of yushmad and asmad are substituted) ते and मे respectively, (when a word precedes and these are anudātta).

Thus मामस्ते स्वम्, मामो मे स्वम्, मामस्ते दीयते, मामो मे दीयते ॥ For the Accusative singular, other substitutes have been taught in the next sūtra, hence ते and मे come only in Genitive and Dative.

त्वामौ द्वितीयायाः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्वा, मौ, द्वितीयायाः ॥

वृच्चिः ॥ एकवचनस्थेति वर्तते । द्वितीयाया येदकवचनं तदन्तयोर्युष्मदस्मदोर्यथासंख्यंत्वा ना इत्येतावादेशी भवतः ॥

. 23. For the Accusative Singular of yushmad and asmad are substituted त्वा and ना respectively, under the same circumstances.

The word एकवचनस्थ is understood here. Thus मामस्त्वा पदयति, मामो मम पदयति ॥

न च चाहाहैवयुक्ते ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, च, वा, ह, अह, एव, युक्ते ॥

वृच्चिः ॥ च वा ह अह एव एभिर्योगे युष्मदस्मदोर्यावादयो न भवन्ति ॥

24. The above substitutions do not take place when there is in connection with the pronouns any of these:— च, 'and' वा, 'or' ह, 'oh ! अह 'wonderful', or एव 'only'.

Thus मामस्त्व च स्वम्, मामो मम च स्वम् ॥

युवयोर्यथा स्वम् । आवयोर्यथा स्वम् । युष्माकं च स्वम् । अस्माकं च स्वम् । मामस्तुभ्यं च दीयते । मामो महं च दीयते । आवाभ्यां च दीयते । युष्मभ्यं च दीयते । अस्माकं च पदयति । मामो मां चपश्यति । युवां च पदयति । आवां च पदयात । युष्मांश्च पदयति । अस्मांश्च पदयाति ॥ वा । अमस्तत्वं वा स्वम् । मामो मम वा स्वम् । युवयोर्या स्वम् । अस्मवयोर्वा स्वम् । युष्माकं वा स्वम् । अस्माकं वा स्वम् । मामस्तुभ्यं वा दीयते । आमो महं वा दीयते । युवाभ्यां वा दीयते । आवाभ्यां वा दीयते । युष्मभ्यं वा दीयते । अस्मायं वा दीयते । आमास्त्वां वा पदयति । मामो मां वा पदयति । युवां वा पदयति । आवान् वा पदयति । युष्मान् वा पदयति । असान्वा पदयति । ह । मामस्त्व व ह स्वम् । मामो मम ह स्वम् । युवयोर्ह स्वम् । आवयोर्ह स्वम् । युष्माकं ह स्वम् । अस्माकं ह स्वम् । मामस्तुभ्यं ह दीयते । मामो महं ह दीयते । युष्मभ्यं ह दीयते । अस्मभ्यं ह दीयते । आमस्त्वां ह पदयति । मामो मां ह पदयति । युवां ह पदयति । आवां ह पदयति । युष्मान्ह पदयति । अस्मान्ह पश्यति ॥ अह । मामस्त्वाह स्वम् । मामो ममाह स्वम् । युवयोराह स्वम् । आवयोराह स्वम् । युष्माकमह स्वम् । अस्माकमह स्वम् । मामस्तुभ्यमह दीयते । मामो महामह दीयते । आवाभ्यामह दीयते । युष्मभ्यमह दीयते । अस्मभ्यमह दीयते । आमस्त्वामह पदयति । मामो ममह पश्यति । युवामह पश्यति । आवामह पश्यति । युष्मान्ह पश्यति । अस्मान्ह पश्यति । एव । मामस्त्वैव स्वम् । मामो ममैव स्वम् । युवयोरैव स्वम् । आवयोरैव स्वम् । युष्माकैव स्वम् । अस्माकैव स्वम् । मामस्तुभ्यैव स्वम् । मामो महैव स्वम् । युवाभ्यैव स्वम् । आवाभ्यैव स्वम् । युष्मभ्यैव स्वम् । अस्मभ्यैव स्वम् । मामो ममैव पश्यति । युवामैव पश्यति । आवामैव पश्यति । युष्मानैव पश्यति । अस्मानैव पश्यति । युक्तयुक्ते प्रतिषेधो न भवति । मामश्च ते स्वम् । नगरं च मे स्वम् ।

The word युक्त is employed in the sūtra to indicate direct conjunction. There is, therefore, where the conjunction is not direct but intermediate the employment of the shorter forms. As मामश्च ते स्वं, नगरं च मे स्वम् ॥

The particles च, वा, &c denote conjunction, 'separation' 'wonder'

&c. Where the sense of ‘conjunction.’ ‘separation’ &c are inherent in the pronouns yushmad and asmad, and these particles are employed to manifest that sense, there the present sūtra will apply its prohibition.

**पश्यार्थैश्चानालोचने ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ परंय, अर्थैः, च, अनालोचने ॥**

युक्तिः ॥ पश्यार्थै दर्शनार्थैः । दर्शनं ज्ञानम् । आलोचनं चक्षुर्विज्ञानम् । तैः पश्यार्थैस्तालोचने वर्तमानैर्युक्ते युष्मदस्मदेवावाक्यो न भवन्ति ॥

25. The above substitutions do not take place also in connection with verbs having the sense of “seeing”, when physical seeing is not denoted.

The word पश्यार्थै is equivalent to दर्शनार्थै, and दर्शन means ‘knowledge’, i.e. verbs denoting ‘to know’, आलोचन means perception obtained through sight i.e. physical ‘seeing’ opposed to metaphorical “seeing” = “knowing”. The substitutions of वा॒ं and नै॒ं &c. for युष्मद् and अस्मद् do not take place when these pronouns are employed in connection with verbs denoting ‘seeing’ (metaphorically) but not ‘looking’ (physically).

Thus आमस्त्वं स्वं समीक्ष्यागतः, आमो मम स्वं समीक्ष्यागतः; आमस्तुर्य दीयमानं समीक्ष्यागतः; आमो मह्यं दीयमानं समीक्ष्यागतः; आमस्त्वा समीक्ष्यागतः, आमो मां समीक्ष्यागतः ॥

Why do we say when not meaning ‘to look’? Observe आमस्त्वा पश्यति, आमो मा पश्यति ॥

*Ishti*:—With regard to verbs of “seeing”, the rule should apply even where the connection is not direct: as, we have already illustrated above.

**सपूर्वायाः प्रथमाया विभाषा ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स पूर्वायाः, प्रथमायाः, विभाषा ॥**

युक्तिः ॥ विद्यमानपूर्वात्प्रथमान्तर्पदाहुत्तरयोर्युष्मदस्मदेविनाशा वाक्यावाक्यो न भवन्ति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ युष्मदस्मदेविनाशा अनन्वदिशा इतिवत्तत्व्य ॥

वा॒ं ॥ सर्वे एव वाक्यावाक्योऽन्वदेशा विनाशा वत्तत्व्यः ॥

26. When the pronoun follows after a Nominative, which itself is preceded by another word, then the above substitutions may take place optionally.

Thus आमे कम्बलस्ते स्वम् or आमे कम्बलस्तेस्वम् ॥ आमे कम्बलोमिस्वम् ॥ आमेकम्बलोममस्वम् ॥ आमेकम्बलस्तेदीयते ॥ आमि कम्बलस्तुर्य दीयते ॥ आमे कम्बलो मे दीयते ॥ आमि कम्बलो मम दीयते ॥ आमे छात्रास्त्वा पश्यन्ति ॥ आमि छात्रास्त्वा पश्यन्ति ॥ आमे छात्रा मां पश्यन्ति ॥ आमे छात्रा मां पश्यन्ति ॥

Why do we say “which itself is preceded by another word”? Observe कम्बलस्ते स्वम्, कम्बलो मे स्वम् ॥

Why do we say “after a Nominative”? Observe कम्बलो आमे ते स्वम्, कम्बलो आमे मे स्वम् ॥

*Vārt*:—The option herein taught is restricted to युष्मद् and अस्मद् when not employed in anvādeśa. But when there is anvādeśa, then the substitution is

*compulsory* and not optional. This *vārtika* restricts the scope of the sūtra, and makes it a *vyavasthita vibhāshā*. Therefore, there is no option here, where there is anvādeśā:—अथो मामि कम्बलस्ते स्वम्, अथो मामि कम्बलो मे स्वम् ॥

*Vārt:*—Others say, that the substitutes वां, नौ &c are *all* optional, when not employed in anvādeśā, whether the nominative is preceded by another noun or not. Thus the rules 20, 21, 22, 23 are optional. As: कम्बलस्ते स्वम्, or कम्बलस्तव स्वम्, कम्बलो मे स्वम् or कम्बलो मम स्वम् ॥ Why do we say “when not in anvādeśā”? Observe अथो कम्बलस्ते स्वम्, अथो कम्बलो मे स्वम् ॥ Q. If this is so, where is the necessity of the present sūtra at all? Ans. The present sūtra is for the sake of anvādesā: i.e. the option taught in the present sūtra will take place only then, when there is anvādeśā and not otherwise; thus अथो मामि कम्बलस्ते स्वम्, or अथो मामि कम्बलस्तव स्वम्, अथो मामि कम्बलो ने स्वम्, or अथो मामि कम्बलो मम स्वम् ॥ In other words, according to this *vārtika*, rules 20, 21, 22 and 23 are all *optional* in anvādeśā, but compulsory where is no anvādesā; but when the pronoun is preceded by a nominative which itself is preceded by another word, then the above rules are not compulsory, even in anvādeśā: there also the option will apply.

तिडो गोत्रादीनि कुत्सनाभीक्षण्ययोः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिडः, गोत्रादीनि, कुत्सन, आभीक्षण्ययोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिडन्तात्पराणि गोत्रादीनि कुत्सने आभीक्षण्ये चार्ये वर्त्तनानानि अनुशास्तानि भवन्ति ॥

27. The words गोत्र &c, become unaccented after a finite verb, when a contempt or a repetition is intended.

Thus पचति गोत्रम्, जल्पति गोत्रम्, when contempt is meant.

Here पचति गोत्रं means ‘he proclaims his Gotra &c, so that he may get food &c’. पचति is from the root पचि व्यक्तिकरणे ‘to make evident’ (Bhu. 184). Similarly जल्पति गोत्रम् “he repeatedly utters, his descent &c, in order to get married &c”. Where contempt is not meant, it has the force of repetition, i. e. he repeatedly utters his Gotra as one is bound to do, in marriage-rites &c. And पचति पचति गोत्रम्, जल्पति जल्पति गोत्रम् when repetition or intensity is denoted. Similarly पचति छुव्रम्, पचति पचति छुव्रम् ॥ The word छुव्रं is a noun derived from the root छू by the affix क्त्, the वक् substitution for छू has not taken place, as an anomaly.

1 गोत्र, 2 छुव्र, 3 प्रवचन, 4 प्रहसन, 5 प्रकथन, 6 प्रत्ययन, 7 प्रपञ्च, 8 प्राय, 9 न्याय, 10 प्रचक्षण, 11 विचक्षण, 12 अवचक्षण, 13 स्वाध्याय, 14 भूयिष्ठ, 15 वा नाम (नाम वा) 16 प्रश्नन, 17 प्रयच्नन,

The word नाम optionally becomes anudātta: in the alternative, it is first-acute. Thus पचति नाम् or पचति नौम् ॥

Why do we say 'after a finite verb'? Observe कुसितं गोत्रम् ॥

Why do we say "Gotra and the rest"? Observe पचति पापम् ॥ Here पाप is an adverb

Why do we say 'when contempt or repetition is meant'? Observe खनति गोत्रं समेत कूपं ॥ "He digs a well having assembled the Gotra".

The words 'contempt and repetition' in the text qualify the whole sentence or sūtra, and not the word गोत्रादि nor the word नानुदात्त understood. For we find that wherever the word गोत्रादि is used in this Chapter, it always implies the sense of 'contempt or repetition'. Thus the word गोत्रादि is used in VIII. I. 57 and there also the sense is of contempt and repetition.

**तिङ्गतिङ्गः ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिङ्ग, अतिङ्गः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ तिङ्गन्तं पदमतिङ्गन्तात्पवात्परमनुदात्तं भवति ॥

28. A finite verb is unaccented, when a word precedes it, which is not a finite verb.

Thus देवदन्तः पचति ॥ Why do we say "a finite verb"? Observe नीलमुख लम्, शुक्लं वस्त्रम् ॥

Why do we say 'when the preceding word is not a finite verb'? Observe भवति पचति 'the act of cooking exists' = पाक किया भवति ॥ Here the word भवति is a finite verb, therefore the verb pachati does not lose its accent. So also तरनिरिज् ज्ञयति, क्षैति, मुष्याति 'successful he conquers, rules, thrives'. अस्मैभ्यां ज्ञाति यौत्सिच "for us conquer and fight". The word अतिङ्गः is in one sense redundant, because in one simple sentence, two finite verbs cannot be employed; one sentence consists of one finite verb only. But the very fact of this sūtra indicates that the condition of समानवाक्य does not apply to this sūtra; so that the two words need not be portions of the *same* sentence, for the application of this nighāta: as we have already explained in VIII. I. 19. Other examples are: अग्निमीडे पुरोहितं (Rv. I. 1. 1), स इदैवेषु गच्छति (Rv. I. 1. 4), अङ्गे सूपाधनौ भूत् (Rv. V. 1. 1), यज्ञमानस्य पश्चून प्राणि ॥

**न लुह ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, लुह ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वेणातिप्रसन्ने प्रतिपेध आरम्भते ॥ लुहन्तं तिङ्गन्तं नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

29. But the Periphrastic Future is not unaccented, when it is preceded by a word which is not a finite verb.

This restricts the scope of the last sūtra which was rather too wide. Thus इवः कर्त्ता, इवः कर्त्तारौ, मासेन कर्त्तारः ॥ The Sārvadhātuka affixes डा, रौ, रस, are anudātta after the affix तासि by VI. I. 186, the whole affix तासि becomes udātta (III. I. 3) and where the फि portion of तासि i. e. the syllable आसि, is elided before the affix डा, there also the आ of डा becomes udātta, because the udātta has been elided. See VI. I. 161.

निपातैर्यदिहन्तकुविचेष्वेच्छकच्चिद्यत्रयुक्तम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ निपातैः, यद्, यदि, हन्त, कुवित्, नेत्, चेत्, चण्, कच्चित्, यत्र, युक्तम् ॥ वीजः ॥ नेति वर्तते । यत् यदि हन्त कुवित् नेत् चेत् चण् कच्चित् यत्र इत्यतर्निषेपात्युक्तं तिङ्गन्तं नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

30. The finite verb retains its accent in connection with the particles यत्, 'that', 'because', यदि, 'if', हन्त, 'also!', 'O!', कुवित्, 'well', नेत्, 'not', चेत्, 'if', च 'if', कच्चित् (interrogative particle, implying 'I hope' or 'I hope not'), and यत्र 'where'.

Thus यत् कुरुति, यत् पैचति, यदि कुरुति or यदि पैचति, हन्त कुरोति, हन्त पैचति, कुवित् कुरोति, कुवित् पैचति, नेत् जिह्मायन्त्यो नरकं पैताम् ( Nir. I. 11 ), स चेद् भुइँत्सैः स चेद् अधीतैः ॥ The particle चण् with the indicatory ए has the force of येत् ॥ Thus अयं च मरिष्यते = अयं च य अरिष्यते ॥ Other examples are स्वम् च सोमं नो वैशो जीवातुम् नैः मरामहे 'if thou, Soma willest us to live, we shall not die' औं च गच्छान् मिर्वेना दधाम् 'if he will come here, we will make friends with him.' इन्द्रभूष्टुलयाति नः, नतः पश्चाद्यं नशन् 'If Indra makes us happy &c'. This rule does not apply to the च which is a conjunction meaning 'and'. So also: कच्चिद् भुइँत्सैः, कच्चिद् अधीतैः, यत्र भुइँत्सैः, यत्राधीतैः ॥

Why do we say "with particles"? Observe यत् कुजाति शकटम् = गच्छत् कुजाति शकटम् ॥ Here यत् is not a particle, but the Present Participle of the root इण् 'to go'. It means गच्छत् 'the car creaks while going'. Rule VIII. I. 28 applies here.

Q. Now by the rule of Pratipadokta &c. that यत् should only be taken, which is a Particle; moreover it is read in connection with other Particles like यदि &c, so it must be a Particle. How then can the Present Participle यत् be taken at all? Ans.—This sūtra indicates that the प्रतिपदोन्नत् rule and the साहस्र्य rule do not apply here. Thus the word यावत् formed with the affix वतुप् (V. 2. 39) is also included in the word यावत् of this sūtra. As तावदुयो यथो अस्य, रास्त यावत् स्तोत्रयो अरदो गृणानाः = यावतोऽध्यान् प्रतीगृहणीयात् ॥

Why do we use the word युक्तं "in connection with". Observe यत्र कुच ते मनो दक्ष दधस उत्तरम् ॥

Other examples are: य यज्ञं परभूर्त्सि (Rv. I. 1. 4.) 'what offering thou protestest'. यत्र नः पूर्वे पितरः परेयुः 'whither our fathers of old departed'. अद्या मुरीय यदि यातुधानो अैस्मि 'let me die on the spot, if I am a sorcerer', हन्तयान् पृथिवीम् विजै-जामहै "come on, let us share up this earth". ब्रह्मा चेद्दस्तम् अैप्रहीत् 'if a Brahman has grasped her hand', नेत् त्वा तैपति सूर्यो अर्चिणा 'that the sun may not burn thee with his beam' उक्येभिः कुविद् आर्जमत् 'will he come hither for our praises'(Whitney's Grammar, Para 595).

नह प्रत्यारम्भे ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ नह, प्रत्यारम्भे ॥

वीजः ॥ नह इत्येतन् युक्तं प्रत्यारम्भे तिङ्गन्तं नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

31. The finite verb retains its accent in connection with नह when employed in the sense of forbidding.

When something urged by one, is rejected insultingly by another, then the reply made by the first tauntingly, with a negation, is pratyārambha. Thus A says to B: "Eat this please". B rejects the offer repeatedly, in anger or jest. Then A in anger or jest says 'No, you will eat"—as नह भोक्यसे ॥ Here भोक्यसे retains its accent, which is acute on the middle, for से becomes accentless as it follows अदुपदेश (VI. i. 186), and स्य becomes udātta by the प्रत्ययस्वर (III. i. 3).

Another example is नहायेष्यसे 'No, you will study'. Why do we say, 'when asseverative'? Observe नह वै तस्मिन् लोके दैक्षिणमिच्छन्ति "Verily in that world they do not wish for fee". Here it is pure negation. तस्मिन् is first acute by किं accent, लोके is final acute because it is formed by अच् of पचादि (III. i. 134), दैक्षिण is first acute, because it is a Pronoun ending in अ (स्वाक्षरितामदन्तानाम् Phit II. 6) and इच्छन्ति is anudātta by VIII. i. 28,

सत्यं प्रश्ने ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सत्यम्, प्रश्ने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सत्यमित्यनेन युक्तं तिङ्गतं नातुवातं भवति प्रभे ॥

32. The finite verb retains its accent in connection with सत्य when used in asking a question.

Thus सत्यं भोक्यैसे 'Truly will you eat?' सत्यमयेष्यसे ॥ Why do we say 'in questioning'? Observe सत्यं वक्ष्यामि नात्युतं 'I shall tell the truth, not falsehood', सत्यमिदा इति ते वृथमिन्द्रं स्तवाम् ॥

अङ्गाप्रातिलोम्ये ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्ग, अप्रातिलोम्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्ग इत्यनेन युक्तं तिङ्गतमप्रातिलोम्ये गम्यमाने नातुवातं भवति ॥

33. The finite verb retains its accent in connection with अङ्ग when used in a friendly assertion.

Anything done to injure another is prati-loma, opposite of this is apratiloma, or friendliness. In fact, it is equal to anuloma. Thus अङ्गैष्वच् 'yes, you may cook'. Here anga has the force of friendly permission. So also अङ्गैष्ठ ॥ But when it has the force of pratiloma, we have:—अङ्ग कूजा ३ वृषल ॥ इदानी ज्ञास्यासि जाल्म "Well, chuckle O sinner! soon wilt thou learn, O. coward". Here अङ्ग is used in the sense of censure, for chuckling is a thing not liked by the person: and is pratiloma action: for pluta-vowel see VIII. 2. 96.

हि च ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हिइत्यनेन युक्तं तिङ्गतमप्रातिलोम्ये नातुवातं भवति ॥

34. The finite verb retains its accent in connection with हि when used in a friendly assertion.

Thus स हि कृहूः, सहि पैच, सहि वैश ॥ Why do we say 'in friendly assertion'? Observe स हि कृज वृष्टल । इदार्ना ज्ञास्यासि जात्म ॥

छन्दस्यनेकमपि साकाङ्क्षम् ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, अनेकम, अपि, साकाङ्क्षम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हि चेतिवर्त्तते छन्दसि विषये हियुक्तं तिङ्गन्तं साकाङ्क्षमनेकमपि नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

35. In the Veda, the finite verb retains its accent (but not always), in connection with हि, when it stands in correlation to another verb, even more than one.

That is sometimes one verb, sometimes more than one verb retain their accent. Thus of more than one verb, we have the following example:—  
अनुतं हि मत्तो वैदति पाप्मा एने वि युनाति 'Because the drunkard tells falsehood, therefore sin will make him impure: i. e. he does incur sin'. Here both verbs वैदति and वियुनाति retain their accent: and हि has the force of यत् 'because'. According to Kaiyyata the meaning of this sentence is बस्तात् पत्तोऽनुतं वैदति, तस्माद्युतवृत्त लोयेन न युज्यते i. e. a drunkard does not incur the sin of telling a falsehood, because he is not in his senses. See Maitr. Sanhita I. 11. 6. As regards one verb in a correlated sentence retaining its accent and the other losing it, we have:—अग्निहि पूर्वमुहैजयत् तमिन्द्रोऽनुवज्यत् ॥ Here the first retains its accent and the second not. The force of हि is to denote here cause and its effect. So also:—अजा हामेन्तज्ञनिष गर्भात् (or गर्भम्), सा वा अपृद्युज् जनितारम्भे (Taittariya Samhitā IV. 2. 10, 4). The word अज्ञनिष is first acute, the augment अ॒ having the accent; while अपृभ्यत् is all anudātta.

यावद्यथाभ्याम् ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यावत्, यथाभ्याम् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ यावद्यथा इत्येताम्यां युक्तं तिङ्गन्तं नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

36. A finite verb retains its accent in connection with यावत् and यथा ॥

Thus यावद् भुइत्तोऽयथाभुइत्तोऽयथाधीत्तोऽदेवदत्तः पैचति यावत्, देवदत्तः पैचति यथा ॥ The meaning is that the verb retains its accent, even when यावत् and यथा follow after it. Another example is यथा चित् कण्वमावनम् ॥ The word आवतम् is the Imperative (लोट्) Second Person Dual of the root अ॒ ॥ यावत् स्तोत्रभ्योऽर्दोऽग्नानाः ॥ The verb अर्दः is Imperfect (लङ्घ) Second Person singular of the root र्द् 'to scratch'. The accent, is on अ (the augment).

पूजायां नानन्तरम् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूजायाम, न, अनन्तरम् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ यावद्यथा इत्येताम्यां युक्तमनन्तरं तिङ्गन्तं पूजायां विषये नानुदात्तं न भवति किं तर्हि अनुदात्तमेव ॥

37. But not so when these particles यावत् and यथा immediately precede the verb and denote 'praise'.

That is, the verb loses its accent, and becomes anudātta. Thus यावत् पूजुति शोभनम्, यथा पचति शोभनम्, यावत् करोति चारु ॥

Why do we say when denoting 'praise'? Observe यावद् भुडेन्ते, यथा भुडेन्ते ॥

Why do we say 'immediately'? Observe यावद् देवदत्तः पैचति शोभनं, यथा देवदत्तः करोति चारु ॥ Here the verbs retain their accent by the last sūtra.

उपसर्गव्यपेतं च ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्ग, व्यपेतम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यावद्यथाभ्यां युक्तं उपसर्गव्यपेतं च पूजायां विषये नानुदात्तं न भवति किं तर्हि अनुशासनेव भवति ॥

38. A finite verb loses its accent when it denotes 'praise' and is joined immediately with यावत् and यथा through the intervention of an upasarga or verbal-preposition.

The last sūtra taught that the verb loses its accent when *immediately* preceded by यावत् and यथा ॥ This qualifies the word 'immediately' and teaches that the intervention of a Preposition does not debar immediateness. Thus यथा प्रकरोति चारु, यथा प्रपचति शोभनं, यावत् प्रकरोति चारु, यावत् प्रपचति शोभनम् ॥

The word 'immediately' is understood here also. Thus यावद् देवदत्तः प्रैचति, शोभनं, यथा विष्णु मित्रः प्रकरोति चारु ॥ The upasarga प्र has udātta accent. Prof. Bohtlingk's Edition reads the sūtra as व्यवेतं ॥

तुपश्यपश्यताहैः पूजायाम् ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तु, पश्य, पश्यत, अहैः, पूजायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तु पश्य पश्यत अह इत्यत्युक्तं तिडन्तं नानुशासनं भवति पूजायां विषये ॥

39. A finite verb retains its accent in connection with तु, पश्य, पश्यत, and अह, when meaning 'praise'.

Thus माणवकस्तु भुडेन्ते शोभनम्; पश्य माणवको भुडेन्ते शोभनं, पश्यत माणवको भुडेन्ते शोभनम्, अह माणवको भुडेन्ते शोभनम् ॥ Why do we say 'when meaning praise'? Observe, पश्य सगा ध्रुतिः ॥

The repetition of the word पूजायाम् here, though its anuvritti could have been supplied from VIII. i. 37, shows that the negation of that sūtra does not extend here: for the पूजायाम् of that sūtra is connected with two negatives, the न of that sūtra, and the न of VIII. i. 29, but the पूजायाम् of this sūtra is connected with the general न of VIII. i. 29 only.

Another example is आहाई स्वधामनु पुर्वग्रन्थवर्मेणरु ॥

अहो च ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ अहो, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहो इत्यनेन युक्तं तिडन्तं नानुशासनं भवति पूजायां विषये ॥

40. A finite verb retains its accent when in connection with अहो meaning 'praise'.

Thus अहो देवदत्तः पैचति शोभनं, अहो विष्णुमित्रः करोति चारु ॥ The separation

of this अहो from तु &c, of the last sūtra, indicates that the next rule applies to अहो only. Had अहो been joined with तु &c, then Rule VIII. i. 41, would have applied to तु &c, which is not desired. Hence the making of it a separate sūtra.

शेषे विभाषा ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे, विभाषा ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ अहो इत्यनेन युक्तं तिडन्तं शेषे विभाषा नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

41. A finite verb retains its accent optionally when in connection with अहो in the remaining cases (i. e. where it does not mean praise).

What is the शेष alluded to here? The शेष means here senses other than पूजा or 'praise'. Thus कटमहो करिष्यसि or कटमहो करिष्यते ॥ This is a speech uttered in anger or envy and not in praise (असूया वचनं) ॥ So also मम गैमेष्यते ॥

The word शेष is employed in the sūtra simply for the sake of distinctness; for sūtra 40 applies to cases of pujā, while this sūtra will give option in cases other than pujā.

पुरा च परीप्सायाम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरा, च, परीप्सायाम् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ पुरा इत्यनेन युक्तं तिडन्तं परीप्सायामर्थे विभाषा नानुदात्तं भवति ॥

42. A finite verb retains its accent optionally in connection with पुरा when it means 'haste' (i. e. when पुरा means 'before').

The word परीप्सा means त्वरा or 'quick'. Thus अधीत्र्व माणवक पुरा विद्योतते विद्युत्, or पुरा स्तनयति स्तनविद्युत् ॥ The word पुरा here expresses the future occurrence which is imminent or very near at hand. It is against the rule of Dharmāśtras to study while it thunders of lightens.

Why do we say 'when meaning *haste*'? Observe नडेन स पुराधीते ॥ Here the word पुरा expresses a past time; that is, it means "long ago". So also अर्ज्या स पुराधीते ॥ See III. 2. 118 and 122, for the employment of पुरा in the Past Tense, and III. 3. 4, for the Present.

नन्वित्यनुज्ञैषणायाम् ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ननु, इति, अनुज्ञा, एषणायाम् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ ननु इत्यनेन युक्तं तिडन्तं नानुदात्तं भवति अनुज्ञैषणार्थं विषये ॥

43. A finite verb retains its accent in connection with ननु, when with this Particle, permission is asked.

The word एषणा means 'asking, praying'. The word अनुज्ञा means 'permission'. The compound अनुज्ञैषणा means 'asking of permission'. Thus ननु केरामि भावः, "may I do it, sir"; ननु गौच्छामि भावः 'can I go sir'. The sense is 'give me permission to do or to go'.

Why do we say when 'asking for' permission'? Observe अकार्धी कदं देवदत्त? ननु करुणमि भोः 'Devadatta hast thou made the mat? Well, I am making it'. Here ननु has the force of an answering particle, and not used in asking permission and hence the verb loses its accent.

**किं क्रियाप्रश्नेनुपसर्गमप्रतिषिद्धम् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ किम्, क्रिया-प्रश्ने, अनु-पसर्गम्-अप्रतिषिद्धम् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ किमिलेत्कथाप्रमेयश वर्तते तदोनन् युक्तं तिङ्गतमनुपसर्गमप्रतिषिद्धं नानुशार्तं भवति ॥

44. A finite verb retains its accent in connection with किम्, when with this is asked a question relating to an action, and when the verb is not preceded by a Preposition or by a Negation.

Thus किं देवदत्तः पैचति, आहो स्विद् भुइन्ते ॥ किं देवदत्तः शोते, आहो स्विदधीते ॥ Here some say, that the first verb (पचति or शोते) being directly joined with किं retains its accent, whilst the second verb (भुइन्ते or अधीते) not being joined with किं, loses its accent by the general rule VIII. i. 28. Others say, though the word किं is heard in connection with one verb only, yet as both verbs are objects of doubt, therefore, किं is logically connected with both of them, and so both verbs retain their accents. Thus भुइन्ते will retain its accent according to this view.

Why do we say when the question relates to a क्रिया or action? The rule will not apply, when the question relates to an object or साधन ॥ Thus किं देवदत्त ओदनं पुच्रुति आहोस्विच्छाक ॥

Why do we say "when a question is asked"? Observe किमधीते देवदत्तः ॥ Here किं is used to express contempt, and not to ask a question.

Why do we say 'not preceded by a Preposition'? Observe किं देवदत्तः प्र पचति आहोस्विन् प्रकरोति ॥

Why do we say "not preceded by a negative particle". Observe, किं देवदत्तो न पठति आहोस्विन् न करोति ॥

**लोपे विभाषा ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपे, विभाषा ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ किमो लोपे क्रियाप्रश्ने तिङ्गतमनुपसर्गमप्रतिषिद्धं विभाषा नानुशार्तं भवति ॥

45. When however किम् is not added in asking such a question, the finite verb may optionally retain its accent.

When किम् is elided in asking a question relating to an action, the finite verb which is not preceded by a Preposition or a Negative Particle, optionally does not become anudātta. When is there the elision of this किम् because no rule of Pāṇini has taught it? When the sense is that of an interrogation, but the word किम् is not used. In short, the word 'lopa' here does not mean the Grammatical substitute, but merely non-use. As देवदत्तः पैचति (or

पृच्छति ) भावोऽस्त्रित् पैठति (or पृष्ठति) Here the sentence is interrogative, even without the employment of किम् ॥ The option of this sūtra is a Prāpta-vibhāsha, as it is connected with the sense of किम् ॥ The counter-examples are the same as in the last aphorism, but without किम् ॥

**एहिमन्ये प्रहासे लद् ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ एहि, मन्ये, प्रहासे, लद् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ एहिमन्ये इत्यनेन युक्तं लडन्तं तिढन्तं नातुशान्तं भवति प्रहासे ॥

46. In connection with एहिमन्ये used derisively, the First Future that follows it, retains its accent.

The word प्रहास means great laughter, i. e. derision, mockery, raillery, jeering, gibing, sneering. Thus एहि मन्ये ओदनं भोक्ष्यसे, नहि भोक्ष्यसे, भुक्तः सोऽतिथिभिः ॥ एहि मन्ये रथेन यास्थासि, नहि यास्थासि, यातम् तेन विता ॥ The word एहि is the Imperative Second Person of the root इण् preceded by the preposition आङ् ॥

Why do we say "used derisively"? Observe एहि मन्यसे ओदनं भोक्ष्ये इति; खुमु च मन्यसे, साषु च मन्यसे ॥

By sūtra VIII. I. 51, *in fra*, after the Imperative एहि which is a verb of 'motion' (गत्यर्थ), the following First Future (लद्) would have retained its accent. The present sūtra makes a niyama or restriction, namely that in connection with the Imperative एहि मन्ये, the लद् is accented only then when 'derision' is meant and not otherwise. Thus the लद् loses its accent here:— एहि मन्यसे ओदनं भोक्ष्ये ॥ The employment of the First Person in मन्ये in the sūtra is not intended to be taught: for by I. 4. 105, the verb मन् (मन्यते) takes the affix of the First Person instead of the second, when 'derision' is meant and not otherwise. When प्रहास is not intended, the proper personal affix of the Second Person is employed. The employment of the First Person ceases there also by this restrictive rule. Thus एहि मन्यसे ओदनं भोक्ष्ये ॥

The above counter example is given according to Kāśika, according to which एहि मन्ये इति उत्तमोपादानमतन्त्रम् ॥ But according to Mahābhāshya, the counter-example is एहि मन्ये रथेन ग्रास्यासि ॥ Here यास्थासि loses its accent. The meaning of the above is खं रथेन यास्थासि इति अहं मन्ये, एहि ॥ According to Kaiyata, this would be an example also under the rule, the First Person not being necessary:— एहि मन्यसे रथेन यास्थासि ॥

**जात्वपूर्वम् ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ जातु, अपूर्वम् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ जातु इत्यतश्चियमानपूर्वे तेन युक्तं तिढन्तं नातुशान्तं भवति ॥

47. A finite verb retains its accent after जातु, when this जातु is not preceded by any other word.

Thus जातु भोक्ष्येत्, जातु अध्यैत्, जातु करिष्यैति । Here से is anudātta by VI. I. 186, as it is an sārvadhātuka affix coming after an अतुपदेशः; the word जातु is first acute, as it is a Nipāta. Why do we say 'when not preceded by any other word'? Observe:—करं जातु करिष्यति ॥ The word करं is end-acute as it is a किद् or noun.

किम्बृतं च चिदुत्तरम् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ किम्बृतम्, च, चिदुत्तरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किमोवृतं किम्बृतं, किम्बृतप्रहणेन तद्विभक्त्यन्तं प्रतीयाद्वृत्तरडतमौ च प्रत्ययौ, तद्विक्वृतं चिदुत्तरम् विद्यमानपूर्वं यत्सेन शुन्तं तिङ्गन्तं नामुदात्तं भवति ॥

48. Also after a form of किम्, when the particle चित् follows it, and when no other word precedes such form of किम्, the finite verb retains its accent.

The word किम्बृतं is a Genitive Tatpurusha meaning किमोवृतं ॥ The word किम्बृतं means any form of किम् with its case-affixes, as well as the forms of किम् when it takes the affixes उत्तर and उत्तम ॥ Thus कश्चिद् भुव्हन्ते, कश्चिद् भोज्यति, कश्चिद् अधीते, केनचित् कोर्त्तति, कस्मै चिद् वैशति, कतरश्चित् कोर्त्तति, कतमश्चिद् भुव्हन्ते ॥

Why do we say 'followed by चित्'? Observe को भुव्हन्ते ॥

The word अपूर्वं of the last sūtra qualifies this also; therefore, the verb loses its accent here:— देवदत्तः किंचित् पुट्टति ॥

आहोउताहो चानन्तरम् ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आहो, उताहो, च, अनन्तरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निचातप्रतिषेधोनुवर्तते ॥ अपूर्वमिति च ॥ आहो उताहो इत्येताभ्यामपूर्वाभ्यां शुन्तमनन्तरं तिङ्गन्तं नामुदात्तं भवति ॥

49. Also after an immediately preceding आहो and उताहो, when these follow after no other word, the verb retains its accent.

The prohibition of *nighāta* or want of accentuation is understood here, so also there is the anuvṛitti of अपूर्वं from the last.

Thus आहो or उताहो भुव्हन्ते, उताहो वैशति ॥ Why do we say 'immediately preceding'? In the following sūtra will be taught option, when these particles do not immediately precede the verb.

Why do we say "when no word precedes them"? Observe देवदत्त आहो or उताहो भुव्हन्ते ॥

शेषे विभाषा ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आहो उताहो इत्येताभ्यां शुन्तं तिङ्गन्तं नामुदात्तं शेषे विभाषा भवति ॥ कश्च शेषः यदन्यदनन्तरत् ॥

50. When the above-mentioned Particles आहो and उताहो do not immediately precede the verb, the verb may optionally retain its accent.

Thus आहो देवदत्तः पैंचाति or पुच्छति ॥ उताहो देवदत्तः पैंडाति or पुड्हति ॥

गत्यर्थलोटा लृणनचेत्कारक सर्वान्यत् ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ गत्यर्थ-लोटा, लृद, न, चेत्, कारकम्, सर्व-अन्यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मतिना समानार्था गत्यर्थाः; गत्यर्थानां धातुनां लोट, गत्यर्थलोट; तेन गत्यर्थलोट खुक्तं लृडन्त तिङ्गन्तं नानुदातं भवति, न चेत्कारकं सर्वान्यज्ञवति ॥

यत्रैव कारके कर्त्तरि कर्मणि वा लोट तत्रैव यदि लृडपि भवतीत्यर्थः। कर्तृकर्मणी एवाच तिङ्गन्तवाच्य कारकभ्रहणेन गृह्णेते न करणादि कारकान्तरम् ॥

51. The First Future retains its accent in connection with the Imperative of a verb denoting 'motion' ('to go', 'to come' to start' &c), but only in that case, when the subject and object of both the verbs are not wholly different one from another.

Those verbs which have similar meaning with the word गति 'motion' are called गत्यर्थाः ॥ The Imperative of the गत्यर्थ verbal roots, is called गत्यर्थ-लोट ॥ In connection with such an Imperative of verbs of 'motion', the First Future does not become anudātta, if the kāraka is not all different. The sense is, with whatever case-relation (kāraka), whether the Subject or Object, the Imperative is employed, with the same kāraka, the First Future must be employed. In connection with the finite verb here, the word कारक denotes the Subject and Object only, and not any other kāraka, such as Instrument, &c.

Thus आगच्छु देवदत्तमौमं, द्रश्यस्येनम् 'Come O Devadatta to the village, thou shalt see it'. Here the subjects of both verbs आगच्छु and द्रश्यसि are the same, and the objects of both verbs are also the same, namely आमं and एनम् ॥ आ is a Preposition and is accented, गच्छु and देवदत्त both lose their accent by VIII. 1. 19 and 28, आम is first-acute being formed by the नित् affix मन् ॥ So also आगच्छु देवदत्त मामं, ओदने भोक्ष्यसे "Come, O Devadatta! to the village, you will eat rice". Here the subjects of both verbs are the same, only the objects are different, and so the rule still applies. आहर देवदत्त शालीन्, यज्ञदत्त एतान् भोक्ष्यते ॥ Here the subjects are different, but the objects are the same, namely शालीन् ॥ Similarly उद्यन्तां देवदत्तेन शालयः, यज्ञदत्तेन भोक्ष्यन्ते "Let the rice be carried by Devadatta, and let them be eaten by Yajñadatta."

Why do we say 'verbs of motion'? Observe पच देवदत्त ओदनं, भोक्ष्यसे एनम् ॥

Why do we say 'After the Imperative'? Observe आगच्छु देवदत्त मामं, द्रश्यसि एनम् ॥ Here the Potential mood is used.

Why do we say the 'First Future'? Observe आगच्छु देवदत्त मामं, पश्यसि एनम् ॥ Here the Present Tense is used.

Why do we say 'if the kāraka is not wholly different'? Observe

आगच्छ देवदत्त यामं पिता ते ओदनं मोक्षयन्ते ॥ उद्यतां देवदत्तेन शालयः सक्तवस्तेन प्राप्त्यन्ते ॥ उद्यतां is the Imperative of वह 'to carry'.

Why do we use the word सर्व 'wholly'? Observe आगच्छ देवदत्त यामं, त्वं च अं ह च द्रैश्याव एनम् ॥ Here also there is prohibition of *nighāta* and the First Future retains its accent, for the subject of the Future is not wholly different from that of the Imperative. For here the subject of the Imperative is the subject also of the Future, though only partly, in conjunction with another. Moreover, the object here in both is the same. Had सर्व not been used in the sūtra, where the sentence would have remained the same, there the rule would have applied, and not where the sentences became different.

**लोट् च ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोट्, च ॥**  
वृत्तिः ॥ लोडन्तं तिडन्तं गत्यर्थलोदा युक्तं नानुदात्तं भवति, न चेकारकं सर्वान्यद्भवति ॥

52. Also an Imperative, following after an Imperative of verbs of 'motion', retains its accent, when the subject or object of both the verbs, is not wholly different.

Thus आगच्छ देवदत्त यामं पैश्य ॥ आत्रज विष्णुमित्र यामं शाधि ॥ आगम्यतां देवदत्तेन यामो दृश्यतां यज्ञदत्तेन ॥

But not here पञ्च देवदत्तौदनं, भुङ्गेनम् because the first Imperative is not one of गत्यर्थ verb. Nor here, आगच्छेदेवदत्त यामं पश्येनम् because the first verb is not Imperative but Potential.

If the subject and object of both Imperatives are wholly different, the rule will not apply. Thus आगच्छ देवदत्त यामं, पश्यतु रामं यज्ञदत्तः ॥

By the force of the anuvritti of सर्व the rule will apply to the following: आगच्छ देवदत्त यामं, त्वं चाहं च पश्यावः ॥

The separation of this sūtra from the last is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, by which the 'option' is with regard to लोट् and not लद् ॥

**विभाषितं सोपसर्गमनुक्तमम् ॥५३॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषितम्, सोपसर्गम्, अनुक्तमम् ॥**  
वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वं पूर्वमनुवर्तते ॥ प्राप्तविभाषियं, लोडन्तं सोपसर्गमनुक्तमवर्जितं गत्यर्थलोदा युक्तं तिडन्तं विभाषितं नानुशान्तं भवति न चेकारकं सर्वान्यद्भवति ॥

53. An Imperative preceded by a Preposition, and not in the First Person, following after an Imperative of verbs of 'motion', may optionally retain its accent, when the Kāraka is not wholly different.

The whole of the preceding sūtra is understood here. This is a Prāpta-vibhāshā. Thus आगच्छ देवदत्त यामं प्रविश्च or प्रैविश्च ॥ आगच्छ देवदत्त यामंप्रशाधि or प्रैश्चाधि ॥ When the verb is accented, the upasarga loses its accent by VIII. I. 71.

Why do we say सोपसर्गे 'joined with a Preposition'? When there is no Preposition, there is no *option* allowed, and the last rule will apply. As आगच्छ देवदत्त मामपश्य ॥

Why do we say अन्—उत्तमे 'not a First Person'? Observe आ गच्छानि देवदत्त, मामं प्रविशानि ॥

हन्त च ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हन्त, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वं सर्वमनुवर्त्तते गत्यर्थलोटं वर्जयित्वा हन्त इत्यनेन युक्तं लोडन्तं सोपसर्गेषु उत्तमवर्जितं विभाषितं नानुशास्त्रं भवति ॥

54. An Imperative, with a Preposition preceding it, may optionally retain its accent, in connection with हन्त, but not the First Person.

With the exception of गत्यर्थ लोट &c, the whole of the preceding sūtra is understood here.

Thus हन्त प्रे विश् or प्रविश्, हन्त मै शाधि or पशाधि ॥ But no option is allowed here हन्त कुरु, as it is not preceded by a preposition. Here rule VIII. I. 30, makes the accent compulsory after हन्त ॥ So also हन्त प्रभुनैजावहै, हन्त प्रभुनैजावहै, where the 1st Person is used, the verb retains its accent compulsorily by VIII. I. 30.

The word प्रभुनैजावहै is Imperative First Person, Dual of the root भुज् in Atmane pada (I. 3. 66). The Personal ending वहै is anudātta by VI. I. 186, because the verb is anudātta-it. The vikaraṇa न therefore retains its accent.

आम एकान्तरमामन्त्रितमनन्तिके ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आमः, एक-अन्तरम्, आम-न्त्रितम्, अनन्तिके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आम उत्तरमेकपदान्तरमामन्त्रितान्तमनन्तिके नानुशास्त्रं भवति ॥

55. After आम्, but separated from it by not more than one word, the Vocative retains its accent, when the person addressed is not near.

Thus आम् पचसि देवदत्तौऽ ३ ; आम् भो देवदत्ता ३ ॥ The *nighāta* being hereby prohibited, the vocative gets accent on the first syllable by VI. I. 198. In the second example, though भो itself is a Vocative, it is not considered to be non-existent by VIII. I. 72, but becomes effective by virtue of VIII. I. 73, as it is in apposition with the Vocative that follows.

Why do we say आम्? Observe शाक पचसि देवदत्त ॥ Here it is anudātta by VIII. I. 19.

Why do we say एकान्तरम् 'separated only by one word'? Observe आम् पचसि देवदत्ता ३ ॥

Why do we say 'the Vocative'? See आम् पचति देवदत्त ॥

Why do we say अनन्तिके 'not near'? See आम् पचसि देवदत्त ॥ Here some hold, that अनन्तिक is equivalent to दूर 'far off'. Therefore, according to them, the prohibition applies to एकश्रुतिः as well as to निधातः ॥ Had it been merely a prohibition of *nighāta*, then the sūtra would become redundant, as the *nighāta* is precluded by the rule of eka-śruti (I. 2. 33). Thus arguing, they hold that eka-śruti being asiddha, the plutodātta of VIII. 2. 84, is not prohibited: and so the last vowel is protracted.

Others say that the word अनन्तिक means 'that which is not far off' (दूर) nor very near'. It does not mean दूर only. For had it meant दूर, the author could have used the word दूर in the sūtra. Therefore the rule of eka-śruti (I. 2. 33), has no scope here at all, for it applies to दूर vocatives. Not being दूर, the plutodātta also should not be exhibited in the illustration; for the rule VIII. 2. 84, applies also to दूर Vocatives.

In the example आम् भो देवदत्त, the word आम् being a Nipāta is first acute; the word भो is a shortened form of भवत्, (VIII. 3. 1. Vārt), and it is accentless by VIII. 1. 19, being a Vocative case preceded by another word. देवदत्त would also have become accentless by the same rule, this sūtra prohibits it. The निधात �being thus prohibited by this sūtra, two rules make themselves manifest now for application. The one is of एकश्रुतिदूरात्संबद्धौ (I. 2. 33) causing एकश्रुति or monotony; the other causing ल्लुतोऽनन्त्यं by दूरादधृते च (VIII. 2. 84). The opinions referred to above, relate to this doubt.

यद्धितुपरं छन्दसि ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यत्, हि, तु, परम्, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आमन्तितमित्येतद्वरितत्वान्नानुवर्तते ॥ तिडिति वर्ततएव ॥ यत्परं हिपरं तुपरं च तिडन्तं छन्दसि नानुशान्तं भवति ॥

**56.** A finite verb followed by यत् or हि or तु retains its accent in the Chhandas.

The anuvṛitti of आमन्तितं should not be taken in this sūtra, but that of तिड ॥ Thus with यत्परं we have:—गवां गोत्रमुद्दसज्ञो यद्धितिः ॥ The verb उद्दसज्ञः is the Imperfect (लह) 2nd person singular of सृज् of Tudādi class. With हि we have, इन्द्रो वा मुद्देन्ति हि (Rig. Ved. I. 2. 4). The verb उद्दन्ति is the Present (लह) Plural of वश् of Adādi class. The samprasāraṇa takes place because it belongs to गृह्णावि class. With तु we have, आख्यास्यामि तु ते ॥ By the previous sūtra VIII. 1. 30 a verb in connection with यत् would have retained its accent, so also in connection with हि by the sūtra VIII. 1. 34, and in connection with तु by VIII. 1. 39: the present sūtra is, therefore, a niyama rule. The verb retains its accent when these three Particles *only* follow and not any other. If any other Particle follows, the verb need not retain its accent. Thus जाये स्वा रोहवैहि ॥ Here रोहवै is the 1st Person Dual of the Imperative of रुह् (रुह् + शष् + वस् = रोह +

आद् + वस् III. 4. 92 = रोहाव the स् being elided, as लोद् is like लङ् III. 4. 85 and 99). The verb एहि is the 2nd Person Singular of the Imperative of the root इण्, preceded by the Particle आङ् ॥ Here in रोहाव एहि (=रोहाव आइहि), the verb रोहाव is followed by the Particle आ, and does not retain its accent. But for this rule, it would have retained its accent. Because एहि is a गत्यर्थ लोद् (VIII. 1. 51), रोहाव is another लोद् in connection with it, and therefore, by VIII. 1. 52 it would have retained its accent. But now it loses its accent because it is a तिङ् following after a non तिङ् word स्वः ॥ The visarga of स्वः is elided before ए by VIII. 3. 14, then the preceding अ is lengthened and we have स्वा (VI. 3. 111). Another reading is स्वे रोहावैहि ॥ It is a Vedic anomaly, the visarga is changed to ए ॥

चन्नचिदिवगोत्रादितद्धिताप्रेडितेष्वगतेः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ चन्, चित्, इव, गोत्र-आदि, तद्धित, आप्रेडितेषु, अगतेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चन् चिद् इव गोत्रादि तद्धित आप्रेडित इत्येतेषु परतः अगतेस्तरं तिङ्ननं नातुवातं भवति ॥

57. A finite verb retains its accent, when it is not preceded by a Gati Particle (I. 4. 60 &c), and when it is followed by चन्, चिद्, इव, गोत्र &c, a Taddhita affix, or by its own doubled form.

Thus देवदत्तः पैचति चन् ; देवदत्तः पैचति चित्, देवदत्तः पैचतीव ॥ The list of Gotrādi words is given under sūtra VIII. 1. 27. Thus देवदत्त पैचति गोत्रम्, देवदत्तः पैचति हृष्म, देवदत्तः पैचति प्रवचनम् &c. The Gotrādi words, here also, denote censure and contempt.

With a Taddhita affix, देवदत्तः पैचति कल्पम्, देवदत्तः पैचति रूपम् ॥ The examples should be given with anudātta Taddhita affixes, like रूपम्, कल्पम् (V. 3. 66 and 67). Any other Taddhita affix added to the verb would cause the verb to lose its accent, the Taddhita accent overpowers the verb accent : as पैचतिदैश्य (V. 3. 67).

With a doubled verb, as ; देवदत्तः पैचति पैचति ॥

Why do we say 'when not preceded by a Participle called Gati'? Observe देवदत्तः प्र पैचति चन् ॥ The word गति in this sūtra as well as in सगतिरपि तिङ् (VIII. 1. 68) should be taken in its restricted sense, namely upasargas treated as Gati, and not the extended definition of Gati as given in I. 4. 61. Therefore the verb retains its accent here : शुक्लीकरोति चन्, यत् काष्ठं शुक्लीकरोति, यत् काष्ठं कृष्णकरोति ॥

According to others, throughout this Book Eighth, the word Gati means, the Upasarga Gati.

चादिषु च ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ च, आदिषु, च ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ चादिषु च परतः तिङ्ननमगतेः परं नातुवातं भवति ॥

58. A finite verb, not preceded by a gati, retains its accent before the Particles च (चा, ह, अह and एव VIII. 1. 24).

वै has the force of स्फुट and क्षमा, and वाच् that of प्रसिद्धि and स्फुट ॥

एकान्याभ्यां समर्थाभ्याम् ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक, अन्याभ्याम्, समर्थाभ्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एक अन्य इत्येताभ्यां समर्थाभ्यां युक्ता प्रथमा तिङ्गविभक्तिर्विभाषा नानुशासा भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

65. Also in connection with एक and अन्य, optionally in the Chhandas, the first verb retains its accent, when these words have the same meaning ('the one—the other').

Thus प्रजामेका जिन्वति (or जिन्वति), ऊर्जमेकारक्षति ॥ तयोरन्यः पिष्पलं स्वाहौति (or अन्ति), अनभग्रन्थो अभिचाकशीति (Rig Veda I. 164. 20, Mundaka Upanishad III. 1).

Why do we say समर्थाभ्यां 'having the same meaning'? See एको देवानुपातिष्ठत् ॥ Here एक is a Numeral and has not the sense of अन्य 'the one another'. The word समर्थ is used, in fact, to restrict the meaning of एक, for it has various meanings: while there is no ambiguity about the word अन्य ॥ एकोऽन्यार्थे प्रधाने च प्रथमे केवल तथा । साधारणे समानेऽल्पे संख्याभ्यां च प्रयुक्त्यते ॥

यद्यवृत्तान्तिस्तम् ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यत्, वृत्तात्, नित्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथमा छन्दसीति निवृत्तं, निषातप्रतिवेध इत्येव ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ यथाकाम्ये वैति वक्तव्यम् ॥

66. In connection with यद् in all its forms, the verb retains its accent always.

The anuvṛitti of प्रथमा and छन्दसि ceases. The prohibition of nighāta, which commenced with न तद् (VIII. I. 29) is present here also. In what ever sentence the word यद् occurs, that is called यद्यवृत्तं ॥ The word वृत्तं denotes here the form of यद् in all its declensions with case affixes. According to Kāsikā, उत्तर and उत्तम are not included, according to Pātanjali they should be included. See also the explanation of किरुत्तं in VIII. I. 48.

Thus यो भुद्देहैँ, यं भोज्यति, अेन भुद्देहैँ, यस्मै इवाति, यत् कामास्ते ज्ञाहमैः (Rig Veda X. 121. 10) यद्यपद् वाशुर्वाति (T. S. V. 5. I. 1.) यद् वाशुः पैवते ॥ For the form यद्यपद् see VI. 3. 92. Though the sūtra is in the Ablative (यद्यवृत्तात्) and therefore requires that the verb should *immediately* follow it, yet in यद्यपद् वाशु वाति, the intervention of वाशु: does not prevent the operation of this rule, according to the opinion of Pātanjali.

*Vārt:*—Optionally when the sense is that of 'wheresoever' or 'whencever'. The word यथाकाम्य means यथेच्छुः 'as one wishes', without regard of time or space. The nighāta is prohibited here also. As यत्र वव चन यजते तद् देववजन एव यजते ॥

पूजनात्पूजितमनुदात्तं काष्टादिभ्यः ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूजनात्, पूजितम्, अनुदातम्, काष्टादिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूजनेभ्यः काष्टादिभ्य उत्तरपदं पूजितमनुदात्तं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ मलोपम् ॥

67. After a word denoting praise belonging to काष्ठादि class, the word whose praise is denoted, becomes *aundâttā*.

This refers to compounds, the first members of which are praise-denoting words. The word काष्ठादिभ्यः, is added to the sūtra from a Vârtika.

Thus काष्ठाध्यापकः, काष्ठाभिरूपकः, वाहणाध्यापकः, वाहणाभिरूपकः ॥

अमातापुत्र । अमातापुत्राध्यापकः । अमातापुत्राभिरूपकः । अयुताध्यापकः । अयुताभिरूपकः ।  
अनुत् । अनुताध्यापकः । अनुत् । अनुत्काध्यापकः । भूषा । भूषाध्यापकः । घोर । घोराध्यापकः । मुखः ।  
सुखाध्यापकः । परम । परमाध्यापकः । सु । सुध्यापकः । अति । अत्यध्यापकः । दौः । दौरध्यापकः । दौर-  
भिरूपकः । स्वध्यापकः । अपुत्र । अपुत्राध्यापकः । कल्याण । कल्याणाध्यापकः ॥

*Vârtit*:—The final श् should be elided in forming these words. The word वाहण is an adverb, and therefore in the accusative case, like वाहणं गतः ॥ In such a case, there can be no compounding: hence the elision of श् is taught. This is the opinion of Vârtika—kâra Kâtyâyana. According to Kâsikâ, there is compounding under मदूर व्यसकादि rule, and so श् is elided by the general rule of samâsa. This becoming of अनुशन्त takes place in the compound, and after composition. In fact, it is an exception to the general rule by which a compound is *finally* acute ( VI. i. 223 ) But there is no elision in वाहणमध्यापकः &c. and there is no loss of accent also of the second word. By the Vârtika 'मलोपम्', this further fact is also denoted, where the case - affix is not employed and so the श् is not heard, there the second member becomes *anudâttā*. When there is no compounding, there is no elision of श् as वाहणमवीते, वाहणमध्यापकः ॥

Though the word पूजन would have implied its correlative term पूजित, the specific mention of पूजित in the aphorism indicates, that the word denoting पूजित should follow *immediately* after the word denoting पूजन ॥ In fact, this peculiar construction of the sūtra, is a jñâpaka of the existence of the following rule:—इह प्रकरणे पञ्चमी निर्देशेऽपि नानन्तर्यामीयते “In this subdivision or context, though a word may be exhibited in the Ablative case, it does not follow that there should be consecutiveness between the Ablative and the word indicated by it”. This has been illustrated in the previous rule of यद्बृत्तान् नित्यम्, in explaining forms like यद्बृप्ते वायुर्वाति &c.

Though the anuvṛtti of ‘*anudâttā*’ was current, the express employment of this term in the sūtra indicates that the *prohibition* (of *anudâttā*) which also was current, now ceases.

On this subject, the following extract from the Commentary on Siddhânta-Kaumudi, will give the view of later Grammarians:—The words काष्ठ &c, are all synonyms of अनुत्, meaning *wonderful, prodigious*: and are words denoting *praise*. This is an aphorism appertaining to samâsa subject. In the examples the compounding takes place under the rule of Mayuravyansakâdi.

*Vārt*—The elision of ष should be mentioned. दारणम्+अध्यापकः, in making the compound of these two words, the elision of the case affix, in this case ष, is natural. The vārtika, therefore, teaches nothing new, but only repeats this general rule in a particular form. This is the opinion of the authors of Kāśikā. But according to Kayyata, the commentator on the Great Bhāṣya, this aphorism is not a samāsa rule: and the words दारणम् &c, are adverbs not admitting of samāsa; and so the rule applies to these words when they are not compounded. There is no authority for holding these to be compounds under the Mayuravyansakādi class. Haradatta also says, had this been intended to be a samāsa rule, the word समसे would have been used in the sūtra and this is valid. There is no adhikāra of samāsa here, that could have caused samāsa and in this view, the vārtika मलोपश्च also becomes effective: had it been a samāsa rule, the vārtika would have been redundant.

1 काष्ठ, 2 दारण, 3 अमातापुत्र, 4 वैशा, 5 अनाहात, 6 अनुहात, 7 अपुत्र, 8 अयुत, 9 अद्भुत, 10 अनुकूल, 11 भूषा, 12 घोर, 13 मुख्य, 14 परम, 15 सु, 16 अति, 17 कल्याण

सगतिरपि तिङ् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स, गतिः, अपि, तिङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सगतिरपि पूजनेभ्यः काष्ठादिभ्यः परं पूजितं तिङ्कृतमनुशास्त्रं भवति ॥

68. (After such words denoting praise) the finite verb (which is praised) becomes anudātta, even along with the Gati, if any, that may precede it.

Whether a finite verb is compounded with a gati or stands single, both the compound and the simple verb lose their accent, when it is qualified by the adverbs काष्ठं &c. Thus यत् काष्ठं प्रचुति, यत् काष्ठं प्रप्रचुति ॥ By VIII. I. 28, the finite verb would have lost its accent after the word काष्ठं, but this loss was prohibited by VIII. I. 30 in connection with यत्; the present sūtra re-ords the loss, by setting aside the prohibition of VIII. I. 30.

The word सगति 'along with its Gati', indicates that the Gati even loses its accent. The word Gati here is restricted to Upasargas. Therefore not here यत् काष्ठं शूक्री करोति, यत् काष्ठं कृष्णी करोति ॥

The word तिङ् is used in the sūtra to indicate that the words qualified by काष्ठं &c in the preceding sūtra, were non तिङ् words—i. e. were substantives. The rule of मलोपश्च of that sūtra, therefore, does not apply here.

कुत्सने च सुप्यगोत्रादौ ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुत्सने, च, सुपि, अगोत्रादौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदाविति निवृत्तम् ॥ सगतिरपि तिङिति वर्तते ॥ कुत्सने च सुबन्ते गोत्रादिवर्जिते परतः सगतिरपि तिङ् अगतिरप्यनुशास्त्रं भवति ॥

वार्तिजम् ॥ क्रियाकुत्सन इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ पूतिश्च चानुबन्धो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ विभाषितं चापि वहृथमनुशास्त्रं भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

Kārikā सुपि कुत्सने क्रियाया मलोप इष्टोऽ तिङिति चोक्तार्थे ।

पूतिश्च चानुबन्धो विभाषितं चापि वहृथम् ॥

69. A finite verb, along with its preceding Gati, if any, becomes anudātta, when a Noun, denoting the fault of the action, follows, with the exception of गोत्र &c.

The anuvṛitti of पश्यत् (VIII. i. 17) ceases. But the anuvṛitti of the last sūtra is current. Thus पञ्चति पूति, प्रपञ्चति पूति, पञ्चति मिथ्या, प्रपञ्चति मिथ्या ॥

Why do we say कुत्सन् 'denoting the fault of the action'? See पञ्चति शोभनम् ॥

Why do we say मुषि 'a noun'? Observe पञ्चति विलङ्घनाति ॥

Why do we say with the exception of गोच &c. See पञ्चति गोचम्, पञ्चति शूपम्, पञ्चति प्रवचनम् ॥

*Vārt:* It should be mentioned that the 'fault' mentioned in the sūtra, must be the fault relating to the mode of doing the action, denoted by the verb. The rule will not apply, if the कुत्सन् refers to the agent and not to the action. Thus पञ्चति पूतिदेवदत्तः, प्रपञ्चति पूतिः ॥

*Vārt:* It should be stated that पूति has an indicatory च ॥ The effect of this is that the word पूति is finally acute, because of the indicatory च ॥ The word पूति is not a नक्त्वा formed word, because it is not feminine, as we find it in sentences like पूतिरथम्; nor is it a word formed by नक्त्वा affix, because this is not a संज्ञा word; therefore, it is a word without a derivation. Therefore by प्रातिपदिक स्वर (Phit I. 1) it will be end-acute. The *vārtika*, therefore, indicates that when पूति causes the loss of accent of the verb, then it is end-acute, but in other cases it is acute on the beginning. According to Padamanjari, पूति is derived from पू by adding the Uṇādi affix तिष् diversely (Uṇ IV. 180), and is first acute.

*Vārt:* A finite verb in the plural number, loses its accent optionally: when it loses its accent, then पूति is end-acute. Thus पञ्चन्ति पूतिः, or पञ्चन्ति पूतिः, प्रपञ्चन्ति पूतिः: or प्रपञ्चन्ति पूतिः: ॥

*Kārikā.* The following noun denoting fault must refer to the action. The elision of च is intended only in the case of non-verbs, because it is so said by those of old. The word पूति has an indicatory च, but it is optionally so when the verb is plural. The elision of च mentioned above refers to the elision of च in दारणम्-अध्यापकः = दारणाध्यापकः ॥ The words उक्तार्थम् mean आचार्यपरंपराकथित-प्रयोजनमेतदित्यर्थः ॥

गतिर्गतौ ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ गतिः, गतौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गतिर्गतौ परतो उत्तुशन्तो भवति ॥

70. A Gati becomes unaccented, when followed by another Gati.

Thus अभूत्तुरति, समुद्दीनयति, अभिसंपर्यै हरति ॥ Why do we say गतिः: "a Gati becomes &c"? Observe वेवदत्तः प्रपञ्चति ॥ Here वेवदत्तः is a Prātipadika and does not lose its accent. Why do we say 'when followed by a Gati'? Observe आ मन्दैन्द्रिहरिभिर्याहि मशूरे रोमभिः ॥ Here आ is a Gati to the verb याहि, the complete verb is आयाहि ॥ But as आ is not followed by a Gati, but by a Prātipadika मन्द्र, it retains its accent. Had the word गतौ not been used in the sūtra, this आ would have lost its accent, because the rule would have been too wide, without any restriction of what followed it.

तिङ्गि चोदात्तवति ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिङ्गि, च, उदात्तवति ॥  
चुन्जः ॥ गतिराति वर्तते ॥ तिङ्गन्ते उदात्तवति परस्तो गतिरनुदात्तो भवति ॥

71. A Gati becomes anudātta, when followed by an accented finite verb.

The word गतिः is understood here. Thus यत् प्र पैचति, यत् प्रकरोति ॥

Why have we used the word तिङ्गि in the sūtra? In order to restrict the scope of the word उदात्तवति; so that a Gati would not become accentless before every udātta word, but only before udātta verbs. Thus आ does not become anudātta before मन्द्रः in आ॑ मन्द्र॒ रिन्द्र॒ हरिभि वाहि ॥ If it be said that the word गति is a particular name which the Particles get before verb only, and therefore गति would always refer to its correlative term verb, and not to noun, like as the word *father* refers to its correlative term *son* and not *nephew*: and that, therefore, उदात्तवति must refer to the verb like आहि and not to a noun like मन्द्रः; then also we say that the employment of the term तिङ्गि is necessary, in order to indicate that the verb must be a finite verb, and not a verbal root. So that though a verbal root be udātta, yet if in its conjugated form (तिङ्गन्त) it is not udātta, the गति will not lose its accent. Thus in यत् प्र करोति, the root कृ is anudātta, but the तिङ्गन्त form करोति is udātta, hence the rule will apply here: which would not have been the case had उदात्तवति not been qualified by तिङ्गि ॥ For the maxim is यत्क्रियायुक्ताः प्रादयस् तेषां तं प्रति गत्युपसर्गसंज्ञे भवतः ॥ Therefore in a तिङ्गन्त, the designation of गति is with regard to धातु or verbal root. Obj: If तिङ्गि is used for this purpose, then the rule will not apply to an आम् ending forms, like प्र पैचतितराम् and प्रपैचतितमाम्, for these are not तिङ्गन्त; but as a matter of fact, we find that प्र loses its accent, in these forms also. How is this explained? Ans. Here there are two views: some compound the Gati प्र with the completed आम्नत form पैचतितराम् ॥ According to them, this प्र would get the accent, on the rule that an Indeclinable first member retains its accent (VI. 2. 2); so that even if the word तिङ्गि was not used in the sūtra, the form पैचतितराम् being the second member of a compound, became anudātta; and so प्र being followed by an anudātta never loses its accent. According to them, therefore, the Gati never loses its accent in प्रैचतितराम् &c. Others compound the word ending in तरप् (पैचतितर) with the Gati, and having formed प्रपैचतितर, then add the affix आम् ॥ According to this view, the आम् accent debars all other accents, on the maxim, 'the accent of the last prevails' (सर्वांश्च), and so प्र is anudātta, not by this rule, but by अनुदात्तवर्त्ते पदमेकवर्जे ॥ According to them the word is प्रपैचतितराम् ॥ According to both of these views, this sūtra is not necessary for the purposes of प्रपैचतितराम् &c. But there is a third view which makes this sūtra necessary even for this purpose. There is this maxim: गतिकारकोपपदानाम् कृद्धिः सह समाप्तवचनं प्राक् खुदृष्टत्वे: "It should be

stated that Gatis, Kārakas and Upapadas are compounded with bases that end with Kṛit-affixes, before a case-termination has been added to the latter". This maxim itself has been explained in two different ways, one saying that the compounding takes place with kṛit-formed words *only* before the addition of case-affixes; but with words formed by Taddhita affixes, the compounding does not take place before a case affix has been added. The other view makes no such difference between kṛit-formed and non-kṛit formed words. This latter view is not necessary for our purposes. According to the first view, the Gati प्र can never be compounded with पञ्चतितराम् as it is not a सुबन्त् ॥ So both प्र and पञ्चतितराम् having different accents, the present sūtra became necessary to cause the loss of accent of प्र ॥

Why have we used the word उदाच्चवति? See मैं पञ्चति, मैं करोति ॥ Here the verb loses its accent by VIII. i. 28, hence the Gati retains its accent.

**आमन्त्रितं पूर्वमविद्यमानवत् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आमन्त्रितम्, पूर्वम्, अविद्यमानवत् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ आमन्त्रितं पूर्वमविद्यमानवद्वति, तस्मिन्स्ति यत्कार्यं तत्र भवति ॥

**72.** A preceding Vocative is considered as non-existent, (for the purposes of the accent of the following word, and the enclitic forms of युष्मद् and अस्मद्).

Such a Vocative is treated as if not at all existing, it is simply ignored. The operation which its presence otherwise would have caused does not take place, and that operation takes place which would have taken place had it not existed. What are the particular purposes served by considering it as non-existent? They are (1) the absence of the accent-less-ness of the subsequent vocative, which the first, taken as a पद, would have caused under VIII. i. 19. As देवदत्त ! यैज्ञदत्त ! Here the first Vocative देवदत्त does not cause the second Vocative to lose its accent, but it remains first acute by VI. i. 198. (2) The accent less-ness of the verb required by VIII. i. 28 is prevented: as, देवदत्त पैचसि ॥ (3) The substitution of the shorter forms of युष्मद् and अस्मद्, required by VIII. i. 20-23 is prevented, as देवदत्त तत्र (not ते) मामः स्वम्, देवदत्त सम (not मे) मामः स्वम् ॥ (4) The application of VIII. i. 37 takes place, in spite of the intervention of the Vocative between the Particle and the verb; such intervention is not considered as taking away anything from the immediateness (अनन्तरम्) of the Particle from the verb: as, यावद् देवदत्त पञ्चसि ॥ (5) For the purposes of VIII. i. 47, though a Vocative may precede जातु, the latter is still considered as अविद्यमानपूर्वे and VIII. i. 47 applies, as देवदत्त जातु पैचसि ॥ (6) So also in the case of VIII. i. 49, as आहो देवदत्त पैचसि, उताहो देवदत्त पञ्चसि, no option is allowed here by VIII. i. 50.

Why do we use the word 'as if' or वृत् in the sūtra, instead of saying 'altogether'? In other words, why do we say "it is considered as if non-existent", instead of saying "it is considered altogether non-existent"? The vocative does produce its own particular effect. Thus in आम् भो देवदत्त ! the vocative भो is considered as one word (एकान्तर) for the purposes of separating आम् from the vocative देवदत्त under VIII. I. 55. This is the opinion of Patanjali; but the opinion of the author of Kāśikā is that भो would have been considered as अविद्यमानवत् but for VIII. I. 73.

Why do we say 'a Vocative'? Observe देवदत्तः पूर्वति ॥ Why do we say पूर्वं 'with regard to the subsequent word'? The vocative itself will not be considered as non-existent, for the application of rules that would apply to vocative as such. Thus in देवदत्त यज्ञदत्त, the vocative देवदत्त gets its accent by VI. I. 193 also. In fact, the word पूर्वं connotes its correlative परं 'subsequent'; and the vocative is considered as non-existent, for the purposes of the operations to be performed on such *subsequent* term, whether such operation be caused by the vocative itself, or by any other cause; but it is not to be considered non-existent for the purposes of operations to be performed upon itself. Therefore in देवदत्त पैचासि, Devadatta does get the accent of the vocative. In इसं मे गङ्गे यमुने सरस्वति शतुर्द्वयि the first vocative गङ्गे is considered as non-existent with regard to यमुने, and, therefore, यमुने is considered as following immediately after the pada मे and thus यमुने becomes anudātta, not because of गङ्गे, but because of मे; similarly सरस्वति and शतुर्द्वयि are anudātta, not because of the preceding Vocative, but because of मे ॥ In other words, the intervention of the vocatives does not stop the action of मे ॥

**नामनित्रते समानाधिकरणे सामान्यवचनम् ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥** न, आमनित्रते, समानाधिकरणे, सामान्य-वचनम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अविद्यमानवस्वस्य प्रतिषेधः ॥ आमनित्रताते समानाधिकरणेपरतः पूर्वमामनित्रातां सामान्यवचनं नाविद्यमानवद्वति ॥

73. A preceding vocative, when it conveys a general idea, is not to be considered as if non-existent, for the purposes of the subsequent Vocative, which stands in apposition with the former.

This sūtra prevents the operation of the last sūtra in the particular case when the two Vocatives are in apposition, and the second qualifies the first. Thus ईश्वरे शृणुते, मौणवक्तुं दिलक्षणापुक् ॥ The first vocative being considered as existing, second vocative loses its accent.

Why do we say 'the *vocative* subsequent'? Observe देवदत्त पैचसि here the *verb* does not lose its accent. Why do we say 'standing in apposition or समानाधिकरणे'? Observe देवदत्त पैचित यज्ञदत्त, here the word पैचित qualifies यज्ञदत्त, and is not in apposition with देवदत्त, and hence it retains its accent.

Why do we say सामान्यवचनम् 'which is a generic word'? The rule will not apply when the Vocatives are synonyms. Thus अ॒ष्ट्वे द॑वि सरस्वति ह॑उ का॒ष्ट्वे विह॑व्ये एतानि ते अ॒ष्ट्वे नामानि ॥ All these Vocatives are synonyms of Saraswati, and hence all retain their accent of the Vocative (VI. i. 198). According to Padamanjari the reading given in Taittariya Br. is:— इ॒डे ख्लेऽ विते॑ सरस्वति प्रिये॑ प्रेयसि महि विशुते, एतानि ते अ॒ष्ट्वे नामानि ॥ सामान्यवचनम् means 'a generic term'. When the first is a generic term, and the second is a specific term, (विशेष वचन) qualifying the first, and both are in the singular number, there the present rule will apply.

**विभाषितं विशेषवचने बहुवचनम् ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषितम्, विशेष-  
वचने, बहुवचनम् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वेणाविद्यमानवच्ये प्रतिषिद्धे विकल्प उच्यते ॥ विशेषवचने समानाधिकरणे आमन्वितान्ते परतः पूर्वमामन्वितं बहुवचनान्तं विभाषितमविद्यमानवद्वति ॥

74. When the preceding Vocative is in the Plural number, it is optionally considered as non-existent, if the subsequent Vocative, in apposition with it, is a specific term.

This ordains option, where the last sūtra would have made the consideration of the first vocative as existent compulsory. Thus हैशः सौरण्याः or दै॑वा सौरण्याः ॥ द्वादृशाणा॑ वै॑याकरणाः or द्वादृशाणा॑ द्वै॑याकरणाः ॥

The anuvṛitti of सामान्यवचनम् is understood here; the second vocative, therefore, must be a विशेषवचन, as being the correlative of the former: where is then the necessity of employing the word विशेषवचने in the sūtra? This word is used in the aphorism for the sake of precision only.

Why do we say 'in the plural number'? Observe मौगवक उटिलक ॥ No option is allowed here, and the preceding vocative is *always* considered as existent and so rule VIII. i. 73 applies.

The sūtras 73 and 74 as enunciated by Pāṇini are:—73. नामन्विते समानाधि-करणे; 74. सामान्यवचनं विभाषितं विशेषवचने (i. e. 73. The preceding Vocative is not considered as non-existent, if the subsequent word is a Vocative in apposition with it. 74. Optionally so, if the preceding vocative is a general term and the subsequent vocative is a particular term). Patanjali made the amendment by adding सामान्यवचने to 73 also, and the author of Kāśikā has added बहुवचनम् to 74 from the commentary of Patanjali and has omitted सामान्यवचनम् from it: though he reads its anuvṛitti.





ओ३म् ।

## अथ अष्टमाध्यास्य द्वितीयः पादः ।

### BOOK EIGHTH.

#### CHAPTER SECOND.

**पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वत्र, अ-सिद्धम् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वत्रासिद्धमित्यधिकार आ अध्यायपरिसमाप्तेः । यद्वित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः पूर्वत्रासिद्धमित्येवं तद्देवितव्यम् । तत्र येयं सपादसप्ताध्याय्यानुकाला एतस्यामयं पादोनो उद्धायोऽसिद्धो भवति । इत उत्तरं चोत्तरो-चरो योगः पूर्वत्रपूर्वत्रासिद्धो भवति । असिद्धवद्वति । सिद्धकार्यं न करोति इति अर्थः ॥ तदेवतदसिद्धवद्वन्नं आदेशलक्षणप्रतिबेधार्थं उत्सर्गलक्षणभावार्थं च ॥

1. Whatever will be taught hereafter, upto the end of the work, is to be considered as not taken effect, in relation to the application of a preceding rule.

This is an *Adhikāra* or governing rule, and extends upto the end of the Book. Whatever we shall teach hereafter is to be understood as non-existent, with regard to the preceding rule. With regard to whatever has been taught in the preceding Seven Books and a quarter, the rules contained in these three last chapters are considered as *asiddha*. And further, in these three chapters, a subsequent rule is, as if it had not taken effect, so far as any preceding rule is concerned. The word असिद्धम्=असिद्धवद्वति, सिद्धकार्यं न करोति ॥ The rule is “as if non-effective, does not produce the operation of a siddha or effective rule”. This rule of non-effectiveness is for the sake of prohibiting the operation of an *ādeśa* rule, and establishing the operation of an *utsarga* or general rule. Thus अस्मा उद्धर; द्वा अत्र; द्वा आनय, असा आदित्यः ॥ In all these, the elision of श् and श् by VIII. 3. 19, being considered as not to have taken effect, there is no further sandhi, and आ+उ does not give rise to *guṇa*, nor आ+अ=आ ॥ In fact, for the purposes of the application of आदृगुणः rule of VI. 1. 87, or the वीर्य rule of VI. 1. 101, the rule VIII. 3. 19 is considered as not to have taken effect at all.

Similarly अमुमै, अमुमात्, अमुमिन् from अद्दृ ॥ Thus अद्दृ+हे=अह+हे (VII. 2. 102 अ- being substituted for the final श्, which again merges in the

preceding अ VI. 1. 97)=अमु+डे (VIII. 2. 80. त being substituted for अ, and म for द of अह). Now the substitution of स्मै for डे takes place only after Pronouns ending in अ; but अमु is a pronoun ending in त, so this स्मै (VII. 1. 14) should not take place. The present sūtra helps us out of this difficulty, and the change of अ into त by VIII. 2. 80 is considered *asiddha* for the purposes of the application of VII. 1. 14.

शुष्किका शुष्कजड्घा च कामिमानौजडन्तया ।

मतोवर्त्ये भलां जस्त्वं, शुडलिष्मान्त्रिदर्शनम् ॥

The forms शुष्किका, शुष्कजड्घा, कामिमानौजडन्तया, and शुडलिष्मान् illustrate this rule excellently.

(1) शुष्किका ॥ To the root शुष्क we add the Nishṭhā त, as शुष्क+त=शुष्क+क (त changed to क by VIII. 2. 51)=शुष्क ॥ Add the feminine affix दाप् and we have शुष्का ॥ Add to this the affix क (V. 3. 70, 73), as शुष्का+क=शुष्काक, the feminine of which with दाप् will be शुष्कका (the shortening taking place by VII. 4. 13). Now अ is changed to इ by VII. 3. 44 and we have शुष्किका ॥ Now rule VII. 3. 46 makes this इ substitution optional, when a क precedes the अ, as is the case here: and that rule would require the alternative form शुष्कका ॥ But there is no such alternative form, because the क of शुष्क was the substitute of त by VIII. 2. 51, which is considered as *asiddha* for the purposes of the application of VII. 3. 46.

(2) शुष्कजड्घा ॥ Here rule VI. 3. 37 would have required the form to be शुष्काजड्घा like मद्रिकाकल्प; there being no puṇ-vad-bhāva when there is a penultimate क ॥ But the क in शुष्का being the result of VIII. 2. 51 is considered as *asiddha* for the purposes of VI. 3. 37.

(3) कामिमानौ ॥ This word may be considered to have been formed by adding the affix मत् to the Patronymic word कामि: or to the noun कामिन् [काम-स्यापत्य=कामि:, or कामोऽस्यास्तीति=कामिन्] ॥ The word काम is formed by adding the Nishṭhā त to the root कै, as कै+त=का+त (VI. 1. 45)=काम (the त being changed to म by VIII. 2. 53). Now this म is considered as non-effectual for the purposes of application of VIII. 2. 9, which requires the change of म of मत् to त, when मत् is added to a word having a penultimate म, as in कामीवान् ॥ Therefore we have कामिमानौ and not कामीवान् ॥

(4) औजडत् ॥ This is the Aorist third person singular of the Derivative root औडि, from the Past-Participle of वह ॥ Thus वह+त=अड (VI. 1. 15). Add to it णिच् in the sense of तमाख्यत् (III. 1. 26): and then form its लुह ॥ The लुह is formed by adding चह (III. 1. 48), before which the stem is reduplicated (VI. 1. 11). In reduplicating, all the rules that went before in forming अड are considered *asiddha*; viz. the rule by which इ was changed to उ (as वह+त=उह+त=उह+त VIII. 1. 31), the rule by which त was changed to ध (उह+त=उह+ध VIII. 1.

40), the rule by which ष was changed to ढ (VIII. 4. 41), and the rule by which the first ढ was elided (VIII. 3. 13 as उ॒ह+॒ढ=॒उ॒ढ=॒ऊ॒ढ VI. 3. 111). The elision of दि before णि being considered sthānivat, we reduplicate हत्; as ऊ॒ह॒त॒ठ+च॒ठ+॒त्=॒ऊ॒ज॒ठत् (VII. 4. 60)=॒ऊ॒ज॒ठत् (VII. 4. 62)=॒ऊ॒ज॒ठत् (VIII. 4. 54). There is no इ added by VII. 4. 79, because of the prohibition of अनश्लेषे of VII. 4. 93. With the augment, it becomes औ॒ज॒ठत् ॥ The form औ॒ज॒ठत् is from उ॒हि ending in the affix क्तिर् ॥

(5) गुडलिप्नात् ॥ This is formed by adding मतुप् to the word गुडलिह्, which is formed by क्लिप् (गुडं लेडि) Here also the म of मतुप् is not changed into ष by VIII. 2. 10; because the change of ह to ष (VIII. 1. 3), and again of ष to ढ are considered asiddha.

The rules of interpretation, however, contained in the previous part will apply to this part also; because such rules cannot be considered 'prior' or पूर्वी; for they become operative then only when occasion requires to apply them. The maxim which governs such rules is कार्यकालं हि संज्ञा प्रिभाषम् ॥ The rules, therefore, which are exhibited here in the sixth case such as VIII. 2. 23, or the seventh case, as VIII. 2. 26, or the fifth case, as VIII. 2. 27, should be interpreted in accordance with the sūtras षष्ठी स्थाने योगा, तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे दूर्वस्य, तस्मादिति उत्तरस्य ॥

But with regard to the paribhāshā विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यं, the above will not hold good. For, by the very fact, that a subsequent rule in these chapters, is held to be asiddha, with regard to the prior, there cannot arise any conflict of two rules of equal force with regard to them. And it is only where there is such a conflict, that the above rule of interpretation applies. This being so, in विस्फोर्यम्, अवगोर्यम् formed by ष्यत् (III. 1. 124) the guṇa ordained by VII. 3. 86 is not debarred by the दर्श rule VIII. 2. 77, because there is no conflict between guṇa rule VII. 3. 86 and the dirgha-rule VIII. 2. 77, for the latter is simply non-existent with regard to the former.

But though the विप्रतिषेध rule does not apply in these chapters; yet an apavāda rule here even, does over-ride an utsarga rule, for otherwise, the enunciation of an apavāda rule would be useless. The apavāda rule is therefore, not considered asiddha. Thus the utsarga rule होऽः (VIII. 2. 31) is set aside by the apavāda rule दोर्धातोर्धः (VIII. 2. 32), and thus we have दोर्धा, दोग्धु म (उ॒ह+त॒च् = दो॒ध् + त॒ध्) ॥

**नलोपः सुप्त्वरसंज्ञातुग्निधिषु कृति ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ न लोपः, सुप्त्वर-संज्ञा-तुक्-विधिषु, कृति ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ नलोपः पूर्वत्रासिद्धो भवति सुष्ठिवै स्वरविधौ संज्ञाविधौ तुग्निधौ च कृति । विधिशब्दोयं प्रत्येकम् भिसंबद्ध्यमानः स्वरसंज्ञातुर्का विधेयत्वात्: कर्मपष्ठीयुक्तैर्भावसाधनो ऽभिसंबद्ध्यते । मुपा तु संबन्धसामान्य-वचनप्रथमनेन कर्मसाधनः । तेन मुपः स्थाने यो विधिः मुपि च परभूते सर्वोसौ मुष्ठिविधिरिति सर्वत्रासिद्धत्वं भवति ॥

2. The elision of a final न् (VIII. 2. 7) is considered as if not to have taken effect, in applying the following rules; (1) rules regarding case-endings, (2) rules regarding accents, (3) rules regarding any technical term of Grammar, and (4) rules regarding the augment त् before a Kṛit-affix.

The word विधि in the sūtra applies to all the four words preceding it: as मुहूर्विधि, स्वरविधि &c. The force of the Genitive compound in स्वरविधि, संज्ञाविधि तुनिविधि is that of ordaining the existence of something: e.g. when an accent is to be given to a word, or a particular designation is to be given to it or when त् is to be added to it, (भावसाधन) ॥ The compound मुहूर्विधि means however, the rule relating to the case-endings themselves, as well as, the rule which would apply to a word, when a case-ending follows (कर्मसाधन) ॥

(1) मुहूर्विधि:—As राजभी, तक्षभी: ॥ Here the elision of न् of राजन् and तक्षन् being asiddha, the भिस् is not changed to एसे by VII. 1. 9. So also राजभ्याम्, तक्षभ्यां, राजसु, तक्षसु ॥ Here the finals of राज and तक्ष are not lengthened before भ्यां by मुहूर्विधि (VII. 3. 102) and nor changed to ए before मु by (VII. 3. 103): as in नराणां and नरेषु of the stem ending in अ ॥

(2) स्वरविधि:—As राजवती and not राजवती ॥ For the elision of न् being asiddha, the rule VI. 1. 220, does not apply, for the word is considered not to end in अवती but नवती ॥ Similarly in पञ्चार्मम् and दशार्मम्, the elision of न् being asiddha, the first member does not become अद्य-उदात्ता by VI. 2. 90. Similarly पञ्चवीजी: the elision of न् being asiddha, the first member does not retain its original accent as required by VI. 2. 29.

The word राजन् is first acute, as it is formed by the affix कनिन् (Up I. 156). राजवती is formed by adding वतीप् to the मतुप् ending word, by IV. 1. 6. पञ्चार्मम् is a compound under rule II. 1. 50 of पञ्चन्-अर्म, and when न् is elided, the first member becomes a word ending in अ and would require the accent of VI. 2. 90.

(3) संज्ञाविधि:—As पञ्च ब्राह्मणः, दश ब्राह्मणः ॥ The elision of न् being asiddha, the words पञ्च and दश are still called shash though they no longer end in न् (ज्ञाना पद I. 1. 24). Being called पञ्च, they do not take वाप् in the feminine (IV. 1. 10).

According to the Vārtikakāra, there is no necessity of using the word संज्ञा in the sūtra (संज्ञा प्रहणानर्थक्यं च नत्रिमित्तस्वालोपस्थ), because the elision of न् is caused by reason of its having such a designation (as पद). Thus without its having the name of पद there would be no elision of जस् and शस्, without such elision, there is no pada sañjña of these words, and unless these words get Pada designation, there can be no elision of न् by VIII. 2. 7. The shash designation, however, would not be retained by these words after taking

plural affixes, when feminine affixes are to be added to them, but for this sūtra. The पञ्चन् and दशन् ending in न् would require डीप् in the feminine, which is however prohibited, for when जस् and न् are elided, the words end in अ and require दाप् for their feminine, which is also prohibited, because, by the present sūtra the word still retains its designation of षट् ॥

Q. How can this be the purpose of this sūtra? There are two views as regard definitions ( संज्ञा ), the one is that a particular name is given to a thing once for all, *prior* to any operations; and operations are performed afterwards upon it or with it, as occasions arise. This view is embodied in the maxim यथोदैशं संज्ञापरिभाषम् 'Sanjñā, and Paribhāshās remain where they are taught.' The other view is that the sanjñā sūtra is to be read with every particular operative sūtra, and the sanjñā given to the word afresh, with every new operation. In other words, the sanjñā sūtra becomes identified with a vidhi sūtra, every time that a vidhi is to be applied. This is embodied in the maxim कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाषम् "Sanjñās and Paribhāsas are attracted by or unite with the rules that enjoin certain operations." In the first view, the षट् sanjñā will be good throughout, both for the purposes of eliding जस् and शस्, and for prohibiting दाप् ॥ Hence thus sūtra is not necessary in that view. But in the other view, the sūtra is necessary. For if the view be taken that a sanjñā is to be applied with regard to each operation, then that षट् sanjñā which had taken effect for the purposes of eliding जस् and शस्, will no longer hold good for the purposes of preventing the application of the feminine affix. Hence, the word संज्ञा is taken in this sūtra, to prevent the application of the second view.

( 4 ) तुग्विधि:—Thus वृत्रहन्यां, वृत्रहभिः ॥ On account of the elision of न् being asiddha, the तुक् augment is not added, though required by VI. 1. 71. ( इत्यस्य पिति कृति तुक् ) ॥

Some hold that तुक् need not be read in the sūtra. They argue in this way:—There is this maxim सत्रिपात लक्षणो विधिरनिमिन्तं तद्विघातस्य "That which is taught in a rule, the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things, does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination". Now the elision of न् of वृत्रहन् took place because of the case affix न्यां, this elision cannot be the cause of adding तुक् ॥ Or the तुक् being a बहिरङ्ग operation would be asiddha with regard to the antaranga elision of न् ॥ This opinion is, however, not sound. The employment of तुक् in this sūtra indicates, that the two maxims above referred to, are not of universal application i.e. they are anitya.

Why do we say before a Kṛt-affix? Observe वृत्रहच्छत्रम्, वृत्रहच्छाया ॥ Here तुक् is added by VI. 1. 73.

The elision of न् taught by VIII. 2. 7 &c would be asiddha by the

general rule VIII. 2. 1; the specification of the four cases in which it is asiddha shows that it is a restrictive or niyama rule. That is, the elision of न् is considered asiddha only with regard to these four rules, and no other. It is not asiddha in राजीवते (राजन् + क्यच् + ते = राज + य + ते = राजीवते III. 1. 8, VII. 4. 33). There would not have been long इ had the नलोप been asiddha. So also राजायते there is lengthening, (VII. 4. 25) and राजाय there is ekâdeśa (VI. 1. 101).

**न मु ने ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, मु, ने, ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ मुभावो नाभावे कर्तव्ये नासिद्धोभवति किं तर्हि सिद्धं एव ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ एकादेशस्वरोन्तरङ्गः सिद्धो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ संयोगान्तस्य लोपो रो रुपे सिद्धो वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ सिद्धलोप एकादेशे सिद्धो वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ निष्टादेशः षष्ठ्यस्वरप्रत्यविधीद्विषु सिद्धो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ प्लृतविकारस्तुभिधौ छ सिद्धो वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ इत्युत्तमं शुटि सिद्धं वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ अभ्यासजद्वचर्त्वे एत्यतुकोः सिद्धं वक्तव्ये ॥

वा० ॥ द्विर्वचने परस्परण्यत्वे सिद्धं वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ पदाधिकारब्देष्वदत्वधस्वनत्वस्वल्पणत्वानुनासिकछत्वानि सिद्धानि वक्तव्यानि ॥

3. The sūtra VIII. 2. 80, teaching the substitution of मु for the दस्त of the Pronoun अदस्त्, is however not treated as asiddha in relation to the case-ending ना ॥

The existence of मु is not considered uneffected when there is to be added ना ॥ On the contrary, it is considered as siddha or existing. Thus मु being considered as siddha, अमु gets the designation of यि by I. 4. 7, and as such, its Instrumental Singular is by VII. 3. 120, अमुना ॥ Had the गु been considered as non-effected, then the stem would not have been called *ghi*, and there would have been no ना added. But when ना *had been* added, then the गु being asiddha, अमु is considered to be as अ॒ ending in अ, and this अ would require lengthening by मुषि च VII. 3. 102: but it is not done on the maxim सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विषयातस्य "that which is taught in a rule the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination". There being no long अा the अ of अमु remains short. Or this sūtra may be considered to be the condensation of two sūtras (1) गु is siddha when ना is to be added, (2) गु is siddha when any operations, otherwise to be caused when ना is added, are to take place. Or the sense of the sūtra is ने परतो यत् प्राप्नोति तस्मिन् कर्तव्ये मुभावो नासिद्धः "the गु is not non-effected in relation to any operation that would otherwise be occasioned when ना followed". From this, it would follow by implication that गु must be considered valid for the purposes of नाभाव itself. So गु being always siddha, ना is added: and there is no lengthening.

**Vārt:**—That ekâdeśa accent which is antaranga, should be considered as siddha. What is the necessity of this vārtika? In order to regulate the accents of 1. अय्, 2. भाय्, 3. भाव् substitutions of ए, ऐ and औ; 4. the accent of

ekādeśa substitutes, 5. the accent of the शृङ् formed words, 6. for the purposes of rule VI. 1. 158, by which all syllables of a word are anudātta except one, and 7. for the purposes of VIII. 1. 28, by which *all* syllables become anudātta.

Thus (1) let us take भाव् first. वृक्षे is finally acute by Phit I. 1. The locative of this is वृक्ष+ङ्कि (anudātta III. 1. 3)=वृक्षेः (ए is udātta VIII. 2. 5). Now combine वृक्षेः + इवम् = वृक्षेः यु + इवम् = वृक्षेः इवम् ॥ So also वृक्ष इवम् ॥ The udātta ekādeśa एः must be considered as *siddha*, so that the भाव् substitute of ए should also become udātta. (2) भावः: As कुमार्यै इवम् ॥ Here also आ is udātta for similar reasons. कुमारी + ङ्के = कुमारी + आ + ए (VII. 3. 112) = कुमारयू + आ + ए = कुमारयू + आ॒ + ए (VI. 1. 174) = कुमारयू + ए (VI. 2. 90) = कुमार्यै (VIII. 2. 5). The ए॒ is udātta and its भाव् substitute will also be udātta. How do you give this example? This example is then valid, when by VI. 1. 174, first the affix आ is made udātta, then this आ (भाद् VII. 3. 112) augment is added to ङ्के, and then (आ॒ + ए॒) there is vṛiddhi ए॒; and then कुमारयू + ए॒ = कुमार्यै ॥ But if the order be reversed and आ॒ + ए॒ be first combined into ए॒, and then this ए॒ be made udātta by VI. 1. 174, then there would be no necessity of this vārtika for the purposes of भाव् ॥ The word कुमारै is end-acute by Phit accent (Phit I. 1). Add to it ङ्किप् in the feminine (IV. 1. 20), as कुमारै + ई॑ = कुमारै + ई॑ (अ॒ is elided by VI. 4. 148) = कुमारै + ई॑ (VI. 1. 161) = कुमारी॑ ॥

(3) आद्. As वृत्तिविदम् or प्रक्षिविदम्, for the same reasons as above [ वृत्ति + अद् ( anudatta ) = वृत्तैः VIII. 2, 5, वृत्तौ + इदम् ].

(4) एकादेश accent. As गाङ्गे इरूपे ॥ Here गाङ्गे + इ = गाङ्गे ॥ The word गाङ्गे is formed by अण् affix (गंगाया इरूप) and is end-acute. The ekâdeśa ए is udâtta by VIII. 2. 5. This udâtta accent will remain valid: so that when for ए+अ there is pûrva-rûpa-ekâdeśa by VI. 1. 109, this ekâdeśa ए will be udâtta by VIII. 2. 5, or it will be svarita by VIII. 2. 6. The word अनूप् is a प्रादि compound, आपोऽनुगतं = अनूपं ॥ Here by VI. 2. 2, the Indeclinable first term would have retained its accent: but the word is end-acute by VI. 2. 189.

(5) शत् - accent. As तुदती, तुते ॥ Here in तुद+श+शत्, the affix श is udātta, and शत् is anudātta. The ekādeśa अ will be udātta by VIII. 2. 5. This ekādeśa - udātta should be considered valid for the purposes of the rule VI. 1. 173 by which the feminine affix and the weak case-ending are udātta. Thus तुदैत् + ई॑ = तुदैती, तुदैत् + ए॒ = तुदैत् ॥ The prohibition अत्रुमः in VI. 1. 173 is a jñāpaka or indicator of the fact, that the ekādeśa accent should be considered siddha, in the accent of the शत्, because without this ekādeśa accent, there is no शत्रि ending word with त्रुम् which is antodātta.

(6) एकान्तुशास्त्र : accent. As तुरन्ति, लिखन्ति ॥ Here in तुर् + श + अन्ति (VI. 1. 186) the ekādeśa अ is udātta by VIII. 2. 5, and this ekādeśa accent is considered valid for the purposes of rule VI. 1. 158, by which all the remaining syllables become anudātta, as तुरैन्ति, लिखैन्ति ॥

( 7 ) सर्वानुशास्त्रः accent. As ब्राह्मणास्तुवन्ति, ब्राह्मणा लिखन्ति ॥ Here the ekādeśa-accent of त्रुवन्ति and लिखन्ति being valid, rule VIII. 1. 28 applies, and all the syllables become anudātta.

The word antaranga is used in the vārtika to indicate that the Bahiranga ekādeśa accent will not be siddha. Thus पचतीति and मैपचतीति, where the word इति is first acute, as it is an Indeclinable. And सोमसुत् पचतीति ॥ The accent of पचति + इति = पचतीति is governed by VIII. 2. 5. This ekādeśa accent of long इ has reference to external sandhi, and therefore naturally it is a bahiranga. This bahiranga ekādeśa accent is not siddha for the purposes of the application of previous sūtras. Thus sūtra VIII. 1. 71. requires that the *gati* should be unaccented before an accented verb: but षष्ठी does not lose its accent, as पचतीति is not considered as an accented verb. In the second example, the इ of सी is not considered as accented, therefore, it does not become anudātta by VIII. 1. 28.

*Vārti*:—The rule VIII. 2. 23 causing the elision of the final consonant in a word ending with a conjunct consonant, should be valid for the purposes of changing रु into र ॥ What is the necessity of this vārtika? Observe हरिवो मेदिने त्वा ॥ The word हरिवः is formed by मतुष् affix हरयोऽस्य सन्ति = हरि + मत् ॥ Now by VIII. 2. 15 the म is changed to व, as हरि + वत् or हरिवत्; add शु (Voc.Sg.) as हरिवत् + शु, then add तुम् augment, as हरिवन्त् + तुम् ॥ Then there is elision of the final consonant = हरिवन् ॥ Now by VIII. 3. 1. the final न् is changed to र्, and we have हरिवर्, the र् would be changed to ढ by VI. 1. 114, if the elision of the conjunct consonants be considered as siddha: for then this र् is followed by म, a श्वर् letter. But if such elision be considered as siddha, then र् is considered not to be followed by श्वर् letters, but by the consonants which were elided.

*Vārti*:—When ekādeśa is to be done, the elision of सिच् is to be considered siddha or valid. As अलावीत् and अपावीत् ॥ Here the सिच् is elided by इट् ईटि (VIII. 2. 28.) This elision is considered valid or siddha, and thus we have dirgha single substitution of इ for इ + ई as अलाव् + इ + सीत् = अलाइ + इ + ईत् = अलावीत् ॥

*Vārti*:—The substitute of the Nishṭhā affixes should be considered as valid or siddha for the purposes of the rules relating to the (1) changing of स to षष्ठी, (2) accent, (3) affix, and (4) इट् augment. As (1) वृक्षणः, वृक्णवान् ॥ The root is ओव्रम्बु (VI. 11) the indicatory ओ shows that the nishṭhā त् is changed to न् (VIII. 2. 45). This nishṭhā substitute is considered as valid or siddha, and the final of the root is not changed to षष्ठी, as it otherwise would have been by VIII. 2. 36: for न् would have been still considered as त् or a श्वर् letter. The equation is as follows:—व्रृच्छ + त् = वृच्छ + त् (VI. 1. 16) = वृद्धच्छ + न् (VIII. 2. 45) = वृच्छ + न् (VIII. 2. 29) = वृक्ष + न् (VIII. 2. 30) = वृक्णः (VIII. 4. 1) The च्छ् is changed to क् by VIII. 2. 30, by considering न् as asiddha and therefore equal to त् or a श्वर् letter. Thus it will be seen that this न् is ज्ञासद् for the purposes of

rule VIII. 2. 30, but it is सिद्ध only for the purposes of rule VIII. 2. 36.

As regards the other three cases, viz, accent, affix and इ॒ augment, the one word क्षी॒व्, will illustrate them all. The irregular formation of this word is variously explained. It is formed by "nipātana" under VIII. 2. 55. It is the Past Participle of the root क्षी॒व्, thus evolved क्षी॒व्+इ॒+त्=क्षी॒व्+इ॒+त्=क्षी॒व्+अ॒ (इ॒ being elided, this is the anomaly)=क्षी॒व् ॥ Here the elision of इ॒ is considered as valid and siddha, and therefore, क्षी॒व् is considered as a word of two syllables, for the purposes of accent, under rule निशाच व्यञ्जनात् (VI. 1. 205). Had the lopādeśa of इ॒ been considered as Siddha, the word would have been considered as if of three syllables, and that rule of accent would not have applied.

Similarly क्षी॒वेन तरति=क्षी॒विक् formed by उ॒ (IV. 4. 7) which affix is added, because it is considered a word of two syllables, the elision of इ॒ being considered as valid for the purposes of IV. 4. 7.

Similarly क्षी॒व् may be considered to have been formed by eliding the त्; as क्षी॒व्+त्=क्षी॒व्+अ॒ ॥ In this view of its formation, the augment इ॒ is not added, because the lopa of त् is considered as valid and siddha for the purposes of इ॒ augment. In the opinion of Patanjali, the words इ॒ विधि may well be omitted from the vārtika, for इ॒ being a portion of a प्रत्यय, the word प्रत्यविधि would include इ॒ विधि also.

*Vārt*—The prolation modification of a vowel (pluta) should be considered as valid and siddha, for the purposes of the rule relating to तुङ्ग augment before the letter श ॥ Thus by VIII. 2. 107, the Vocative words अमे॒र् and पदो॒ assume the forms अमाइ॒श्, and पदाइ॒श् ॥ These इ॒ and श् are plutavikāras. As अम्ना॒श् इ॒च्छन्नम्। पदा॒श् उच्छन्नम्॥ Here the modification caused by VIII. 2. 107, is considered as valid and siddha; otherwise there would have been no compulsory तुङ्ग augment as required by VI. 1. 73 but optional तुङ्ग under VI. 1. 76.

*Vārt*—The इ॒ and palatal change should be considered siddha and valid before मु॒ह् (VIII. 3. 29). The root इ॒त्तिर्॒क्षरणे (I. 41) is read as beginning with a स्, which is changed to श् because of the subsequent च् by VIII. 4. 40. This is not considered as Siddha. Had it been so, there would come मु॒ह् augment by VIII. 3. 29, in अ॒ह् इ॒च्योतति, रह् इ॒च्योतति ॥ The words अ॒ह् and रह् are अ॒इ॒ and रह्॒ formed from the roots अ॒टति॒ and रटति॒ by क्विप् ॥

Why is the root इ॒त्तिर्॒ considered to begin with स् and not with श् as we find it written? Because had it been a root beginning with श् originally, we could not get the form मधु॒क् which would have been मधु॒ह् ॥ The form मधु॒क् is thus evolved. Thus मधु॒ इ॒च्योतति॒=मधु॒इ॒च्युत् by adding क्विप् ॥ From मधु॒इ॒च्युत् we form a Derivative root in गिच् in the sense of मधु॒इ॒च्युतमाच्छै॒=मधु॒इ॒च्ययति॒ ॥ Add again क्विप् to this Derivative root मधु॒भि॒, the गिच् will be elided, and we have मधु॒इ॒च्य॒, then श् (which represents स्) is elided because it is at the beginning of a compound letter (VIII. 2. 29), and श् is elided, because it is at the

end of a conjunct letter final in a pada (VIII. 2. 23), and thus there remains मधुच्, and च् is changed to क् (VIII. 2. 30) we have मधुक् ॥ Had the root been शकारदि, then this श् could not be elided, and so we should elide only the final च् and श् and the form would be मधुश् which would be changed to श् and then to इ and we should get मधुइ which is not desired.

*Vart*:—The ज् and च् substitution of letters in the reduplicate should be considered siddha and valid for the purposes of ए change (VI. 4. 120) and तुक् augment. Thus बभन्तुः and बभणुः ॥ Here the ज् change of भ, to ब in the reduplicate should be considered as valid, otherwise this would be अनादेशात् root and the Perfect would be भेणतुः and भेणुः ॥ Similarly from छिद् we have च्छिद्यत्सति, and from उच्छृं, उच्छिद्यत्सति ॥ In the latter, the second syllable छिद् of उच्छिद् (Desiderative) is reduplicated by VI. 1. 2. Here had the reduplicate substitute च for श् been considered asidhha, there would not have been तुक् augment by छे च (VI. 1. 73)

*Vart*:—The change of letter homogeneous with the subsequent is valid and siddha for the purposes of doubling. As सय्यन्ता, सद्वत्सरः, यद्वोकम्, तद्वोकम् ॥ In सय्यन्ता &c the श् is changed to anusvāra by VIII. 3. 23, and the anusvāra is then changed to a letter homogeneous with the subsequent by VIII. 4. 58. Had the पसवन् change been asiddha, there would have been no doubling by VIII. 4. 47.

*Vart*:—If there be the adhikāra of the word 'pada' in those sūtras which ordain the following changes, then those changes are considered siddha for doubling, namely, 1. लत्व the change into ल (VIII. 2. 21), 2. डत्व the change into ड (VIII. 2. 31), 3. घत्व the change in to घ (VIII. 2. 33), 4. नत्व the change into न (VIII. 2. 56), 5. रुत्व the change to रु (VIII. 2. 75), 6. षत्व the change to ष (VIII. 3. 85), 7. जत्व the change to ज (VIII. 4. 11), 8. anunāsika change (VIII. 4. 45), 9. छत्व the change to छ (VIII. 4. 63).

As 1. गलो गलः; गरोगरः ॥ 2. द्वोग्धा द्वोग्धा ॥ 3. द्रोग्द्रोग ॥ 4. तुत्तो तुत्तः or तुत्तो तुत्तः ॥ 5. अभिनोऽभिनः or अभिनद् अभिनत्. This is लहू second person singular of भिन्, the स् of सिए is elided by VI. 1. 68, and the final त् changed optionally to रु by VIII. 2. 74. The न is the vikarana अनम् ॥ 6. मातुः व्वसा मातुः व्वसा or मातुः स्वसा, मातुः स्वसा, 7. माष्वापाणि माष्वापाणि or माष्वापाणि माष्वापाणि ॥ 8. वाहू नयनम् वाहू नयनम् or वाग्नयनम् वाग्नयनम् ॥ 9. वाहू छत्यनं वाहू छत्यनं or वाहू शत्यनं वाहू शत्यनं ॥

The लत्व &c, changes being all optional, had the changes been considered asiddha, we would have got the following double forms also गरोगल, गलोगरः which are not desired.

All these can be explained by dividing the sūtra न मु ने into two. The first being न, and this negative will prohibit all asiddha-ness mentioned in the

preceding vārtikas. The second sūtra would be तु ने, and we would here draw in the anuvṛitti of न from the preceding.

**उदाच्चस्वरितयोर्यणः स्वरितो अनुदाच्चस्य ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदाच्च-स्वरितयोः, यणः, स्वरितः, अनुदाच्चस्य ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ उदाच्चयणः स्वरितयणश्च परस्यानुदाच्चस्य स्वरित आदेशो भवति ॥

4. A svarita vowel is the substitute of an anudātta vowel, when the latter follows after such a semi-vowel, which has replaced an udātta or a svarita vowel.

An unaccented vowel becomes svarita, when it comes after a यण् (semi-vowel), which यण् itself has come in the room of a vowel which was acute or svarita once.

Let us first take the vowel following an udātta yan. Thus कुमारैः, कुमार्यः ॥ The word कुमारैः is acutely accented on the final, because the long ई (डीप्) replaces अः of कुमार (VI. 1. 161). The semi-vowel ए॒ is substituted in the room of this acute ई; the anudātta औ॑ and अः become svarita after such a ए॒ ॥

Now to take an example of a svarita-yan. The words सकूलै॒ and खलै॒ are finally acute by kṛit-accent (VI. 2. 139). The Locative singular of these words are खलै॒+ई॑=खलै॒वि॑, and सकूलै॒वि॑ by VI. 4. 83. This ए॒ is a semi-vowel which comes in the room of the acute ई॑, therefore, it is udātta-yan. After this udātta-yan, the anudātta ई॑ of the Locative becomes svarita by the first part of this sūtra. Now when खलै॒वि॑+आशौ॑ and सकूलै॒वि॑+आशौ॑ are combined by sandhi, this svarita ई॑ is changed to ए॒; it is, therefore, a svarita-yan. The unaccented आ॑ will become svarita, after this svarita-yan. As खलै॒व्याशा॑ and सकूलै॒व्याशा॑ ॥ The word आशा॑ is finally acute and consequently आ॑ is not acute (Phit. I. 18).

Obj :—Here an objector may say : that the svarita accent on ए॒ in खलै॒वि॑ is by this very sūtra, this svarita is to be considered as asiddha for the purposes of यण् आदेश of VI. 4. 83. How can then the ए॒ substituted for this ई॑ be considered as svarita-yan ?

Ans :—This is considered as siddha by आश्रया॑ ( आश्रयात् सिद्धत्वम् ) ॥

Obj :—If this be so, then उदाच्चानुदाच्चस्य स्वरितः (VIII. 4. 66) should also be considered as siddha : and we should have svarita in इद्याशा॑ &c also. For the word ई॑वि॑ is first-acute by Phit II. 3. Therefore ई॑वि॑ is svarita by VIII. 4. 66. The ए॒ is svarita yan, the anudātta आ॑ after this should become svarita according this view, but this is not so.

Ans :—To avoid this difficulty, we have the following.

Vārti :—यणस्वरो यणादेशो सिद्धो वक्तव्यः ॥ “The यण् accent should be considered as valid, for the purposes of यण् substitution”.

Some say, that even in such cases as इध्याशा the above rule applies, and that the unaccented vowel becomes svarita, if it follows a svarita-yañ which is preceded by an acute vowel. They quote the following from Taittariya Śākhā :—यास्ते विश्वाः समिधः सन्त्यग्ने, where the अ of अग्ने is pronounced as svarita. So also in the Brāhmaṇa portion as : इध्याशायति the आ is read as svarita. But according to Kātyayana and Patanjali, the unaccented vowel does not become svarita by this sūtra, when it follows a svarita-yañ which is preceded by an acute vowel.

To get rid of these anomalies, the Māhabhāṣya proposes several alternatives, two of which will be mentioned here. The first proposal is to divide this composite sūtra into two parts : (1) उदाच्यतः परस्य अनुदाचस्य स्वरितो भवति “an unaccented vowel becomes svarita when it follows after an udāttayañ”. (2) स्वरितयतः परस्य अनुदाचस्य स्वरितो भवति “an unaccented vowel becomes svarita, when following a svarita yañ” and in this second sūtra, we shall read the anuvṛitti of udāttayañ from the preceding half. So that this half will mean: : उदाच्यतः इत्येवं यो निर्वृत्तः स्वरितः; तस्य यणः परस्य अनुदाचस्य स्वरितो भवति ॥ The svarita must have been obtained by the application of the first half of this sūtra and *this* svarita should be changed to यण, which would change the anudāttā into svarita. So that the स्वरित यणः means this *particular* svarita obtained by the application of this very sūtra.

The second proposal is not to read svarita into the sūtra at all. The svarita in सकूल्याशा would then be explained by udāttayañ rule. सकूल्लू + इ + आशा = सकूल्लू + ई + आशा ॥ Here ई is udāttayañ. This will cause आ to become svarita. The intervening svarita ई is considered as not existent for the purposes of accent स्वरविधौष्ठ्यज्ञनमविद्यमानवत् ॥ Nor is this ई to be considered as sthāni-vad to ई by I. i. 57, for in applying the rule of accent, such a substitute is not considered as sthānivat by I. i. 58.

Why do we say “of udāttā and svarita”? Observe बैँडी + आशा = इध्याशा, so also शार्ङ्गध्याशा ॥ Here the semi-vowel replaces an unaccented ई, and is अनुदाच यण ॥ These words are first acute owing to नित् accent (IV. i. 73).

Why do we say “an unaccented vowel becomes svarita”? Observe कुमार्यत्र, किशोर्यत्र ॥ The word जीत्र is acutely accented on the first by लित् accent. (VI. i. 193).

एकादेश उदाच्येनोदात्तः ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकादेशः, उदाच्येन, उदाच्यतः ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ उदाच्येन सहानुदाचस्य य एकादेशः स उदाच्यो भवति ॥

5. The single substitute of an unaccented with an udāttā vowel is udāttā.

The word “of an anudāttā” is understood here. An unaccented vowel,

which combined with the preceding udātta vowel remains as a single substitute, becomes udātta. Thus for the udātta इ of अग्निं and for the case-ending औ which is anudātta, there is always substituted long ई single by VI. 1. 102. This single substitute will be udātta according to the present sūtra, as अग्नी॒ ॥ Similarly वाय॑, वृत्त॑ः पूर्ण॑ः ॥

Why do we say "with *udātta* vowel"? Observe पचन्ति, यजन्ति ॥ Here पच् + शप् + अन्ति = पैच् + अ + अन्ति । Here शप् is anudātta by III. 1. 4, so also अन्ति by VI. 1. 186. The ekādeśa of these two non-accented अ will be anudātta. In forming this para-rūpa ekādeśa by VI. 1. 97, the svarita of the अ of शप् caused by VIII. 4. 66 is considered as invalid or asiddha.

Other examples are कु वोऽध्वा: (Rig. V. 61. 2) and क्रावरं मरुतः ॥ The word वः is anudātta by VIII. 1. 21, read with VIII. 1. 18. The word अँवः is acutely accented on the first, as it is formed by adding क्रु् to अश् (Uṇ. I. 151). The स of वस् is changed to र् (VIII. 2. 66), which is again changed to र् (VI. 1. 113). Thus वो ऽश्व ॥ Here अ becomes pūrva-rupa by VI. 1. 109, which is udātta. कु is formed from किम् by अत् affix (V. 3. 12 and VII. 2. 105) and is svarita (VI. 1. 185). The word अँवर is acutely accented on the first by the Phiṭ II. 6. The single long substitute is udātta.

स्वरितो वा अनुदात्ते पदादौ ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वरितः, वा, अनुदात्ते, पदादौ ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्ते पदावै दशाचेन सह य एकादेशः स स्वरितो वा भवत्युवात्तो वा ॥

6. The single substitute of an unaccented vowel, standing at the beginning of a word, with an udātta vowel, may optionally be svarita or udātta.

Thus मु + उत्थितः = सौत्थितः or सूत्थितः ; वि + ईक्षते = वीक्षते or वीक्षते ; वसुकः + असि = वसुकोऽसि or वसुकोऽसि ॥ Here the word मु is a Karmapravachaniya by I. 4. 94, when it is compounded by प्रादिसमाप्त with the Past Participle, the Avayayibhāva compound retains the accent of its first member (VI. 2. 2), and so it is acutely accented on the first, and the rest are anudātta. Thus the udātta ई of मु is compounded with the anudātta ई of उत्थितः which stands at the beginning of a Pada, and so the ekādeśa is optionally svarita. In वीक्षते and वसुकोऽसि also the verbs ईक्षते and असि lose all accent by VIII. 1. 28 and so ई and अ become anudātta, which when compounded with वि and वसुका become optionally svarita.

The word स्वरितः is employed in the sūtra only for the sake of distinctness, for the sūtra may have well stood as वाऽनुदात्ते पदादौ ॥ In this form of the sūtra, the udātta of the preceding sūtra would become optional when the second member is a word beginning with anudātta. Udātta being optional, in the other alternative, where therē will not be udātta, the svarita will be substituted by reason of the nearness in position.

Why do we say "anudātta beginning"? Observe इवदत्तोऽन् ॥ Here अन्न begins with udātta and not anudātta, and hence no option is allowed.

Why do we say "beginning of a word"? Observe वृक्षैः, वृक्षाः, वृक्षौः and वृक्षाः, where anudātta case-endings are not beginnings of words.

According to Bhattoji Dikshita this is a vyavasthita-vibhāshā; in this wise. There will necessarily be svarita (1) where a long ई is the single substitute of (इ+ई) or of two short इ, (2) where there is pūrva-rupa by the application of एकपदान्तात् भवि (VI. I. 109). There will be udātta where a long vowel comes in. Thus in वि + इस्म् = वीदम् in वीश्वं ज्योतिर्हृष्णे, the long ई is substituted for two short इ's. This substitution of a long ई for two short इ's is technically called प्रास्लेप ॥ Where there is Pras'lesha, the long ई is necessarily svarita. Similarly when there is अभिनिहतसन्धिः i. e. the peculiar sandhi taught in VI. I. 109. Thus तेऽवश्वन्, सोऽयुमागात् ॥ So also where there is क्षेपः सन्धिः i. e. the substitution of a semi-vowel in the room of an udātta or svarita vowel, as अभ्यामि ॥ The above rules about svarita are thus summarised in the Prātiśākhyas : इकारयोज्य प्रक्लेपे क्षमाभिनिहतेषु च ॥ But where a long ई is substituted as a single substitute for इ+ई (one of the इ's being long), there it must always be acute. As अस्य इलोको द्विविधते (Fig. I. 190. 4). The words विवि<sup>३</sup>+ईयते are compounded into विवियते ॥ The word विवि<sup>३</sup> Locative singular is finally acute by VI. I. 171. ईयते is from the Divādi root इड् गतौ, and has lost its accent by VIII. I. 28.

**नलोपः प्रातिपदिकान्तस्य ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, लोपः, प्रातिपदिक, अन्तस्य ॥**

वृक्षिः ॥ प्रातिपदिकस्य पदस्य योन्त्यो नकारस्तस्य लोपो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अद्भुतो नलोपप्रतिवेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

7. The न् at the end of a Nominal-stem, which is a Pada (I. 4. 17), is elided.

The word पदस्य 'of a Pada' is understood in this sūtra. Thus राजा, राजम्याम्, राजाभिः, राजता, राजतरः, राजतमः ॥ The Nominal stem राजन् gets the designation of Pada, before these affixes, by I. 4. 17.

Why do we say 'of a Prātipadika or Nominal stem'? Observe अन्तर्ग्रहिम् ॥ Here अन्त् is a verb, the 3rd Per. Sg. Imperfect (लङ्) of the root अन् ॥

Why do we say 'at the end'? If the word अन्तस्य had not been used in the sūtra, then the sūtra would have stood thus नलोपः प्रातिपदिकस्य ; and as the word पदस्य is understood here, the sūtra would have meant, there is elision of न्, where ever it may be, of a Pada called stem. So that the न of नराभ्याम् would also have required elision. In fact, the genitive case here in पदस्य is not sthāna shashṭhi, but viseshana shashṭhi, नलोप अन्तमहर्णं पदाविकारस्य विशेषणस्तात् ॥

Q. But even if you use the word अन्त् in the sūtra, it is compounded with the word प्रातिपदिक, and the sense of the sūtra will be "न् which is at the

end of a pratipadika, which (pratipadika) is a portion of a pada" &c. and not "न् which is at the end of a pada". So that the rule will not apply to अहनराम्यां but will apply to राजानौ &c? Ans. The word प्रतिपदिक् is not compounded, with the word अन्त in the sūtra. It is used without any case-affix, on the analogy of Chandas usage. In fact, it is in the genitive case, the affix being elided by VII. 1. 39.

*Vārt:* The prohibition must be stated with regard to the elision of the न of अहन् ॥ As अहः, In अह् the case-affix शु is luk-elided by VII. 1. 23, the pratyaya-lakshana is prohibited by I. 1. 63, and hence the न् of अहन् is changed to र् by VIII. 2. 69. अहोऽयम्, अहोभिः ॥ For the rules VIII. 2. 68 and 69 by which the final of अहन् is changed to र्, are asiddha with regard to this present rule requiring elision of न्, hence this vārtika.

Q. There is no necessity of this vārtika, for the subsequent rules VIII. 2. 69, 68 will debar नलेष ॥ Ans. But र् and र् are considered asiddha for the purposes of न elision. The र् and र् would have debarred न elision, had they otherwise found no scope. But they have their scope. Q. Where have they their scope? Ans. In the penultimate अ i.e. in the अ preceding the न् ॥ Q. The very fact that the author has used the word अहन् in the sūtra VIII. 2. 68, shows that र् does not replace अbut न् ॥ Ans. If so, then र् will find scope in the Vocative, हे अहन् where न् is retained by VIII. 2. 8, and it will be this न् which will be replaced by र्, as ह अहर् and so also हे शीर्धाहो निशेष !

The word शीर्धाहन् is a Bahuvrihi (II. 2. 24), the Vocative affix is elided (VI. 1. 68), and the न् changed to र् by VIII. 2. 68, and it is changed to र् (VI. 1. 114). In हे अहन्! the न् is not elided by the option of the Vārtika under VIII. 2. 8.

To remove these objections, they say, the word अहन् which is used in VIII. 2. 68 is in nominative singular without the elision of न्, and it is to be repeated as अहन् अहन् ॥ The one indicates the exact form, showing that the न् is not elided; and by the second word the र् is ordained for this final न् ॥

न डिसंबुद्धोः ॥ र् ॥ पदानि ॥ न, डि, सम्बुद्धोः ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ डौ परतः संबुद्धो च नकारलोपो न भवति ॥  
वार्तिकम् ॥ डाङ्गत्तरपदे प्रतिवेधस्य प्रतिवेधो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ वा नपुंसकानामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

8. (But such न्) is not elided in the Locative and Vocative Singular.

This debars the elision of न्, which otherwise would have taken place by the preceding sūtra. The examples of non-elision of न् in the Locative singular are to be found in the Vedas. As परेम च्यामन् (Rig. I. 164. 39), आऽर्द्ध चर्मन्, सोहिते चर्मन् ॥ Here the sign of the Locative, namely, इ (डि) is elided by VII. 1. 39. In the Vocative Singular, the न् is not elided as हे राजन्, हे तक्षन् ॥

Q. When रुक्षे or the Vocative is elided, the preceding stem is no longer a Prātipadika, and the stem does not get the designation of प्रत् before the affix but is भ, hence where is the necessity of making the present prohibitory rule, when the elision of न् would not have taken place in the Locative and Vocative singular, by any rule?

Ans. The very fact of the prohibition of the elision of न्, as contained in this aphorism, indicates by implication (jñāpaka), that a word retains the designation of prātipadika, though an affix has been elided after it and though such elided affix may produce its effect (I. 2. 45 read with I. 1. 62). Nor will such elided affix give the designation of Bha (भ) to such a stem. Thus राजः पुरुषः = राजपुरुषः, here the न् is elided by considering the word राजन् as a prātipadika, even after the elision of the Genitive affix in the compound, and it is not a Bha, which would have required the elision of अ by VI. 4. 134.

*Vart* :—Prohibition of the prohibition must be stated, when the Locative word is followed by another word in a compound. That is, when a compound is a Locative Tatpurusha, the न् is elided : as, चर्मणि तिला अस्य = चर्म तिलः ॥

In हे राजवृन्दारक ! the first member राजन् does not retain its न् by the present sūtra, because the *whole* compound, as such, is in the Vocative case, and not the word राजन् ॥ In fact, there can be no compound, which in its analysis, will give the first member as a Vocative word.

*Vart* :—Optionally so in the neuter nouns. As हे चर्मन्, हे चर्म !

मादुपधायाश्च मतोर्वौ यवादिक्ष्यः ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ म, आत, उपधायाः, च, मतोः, वः, अ यवादिक्ष्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मकारान्ताद् मकारोपधादवर्णान्तादवर्णोपधार्षोन्तरस्य मतोर्वै इत्ययमेवशो भवति यवादिक्ष्यस्तु परतो न भवति ॥

9. For the भ of the affix मत् is substituted व, if the stem ends in भ or अ (and आ) or if these are in the penultimate position; but not after यव and the rest.

After a stem ending in भ or having भ as its penultimate letter, and after a stem ending in अ or आ, or having these letters as its penultimate, there is substituted व् for the भ of मतुप् ॥ First after stems ending in भ, as किंवत् (किंवान्), शंवत् (शंवान्). Secondly भ penultimate : as शमीवान्, वाडिमीवान् ॥ Thirdly a stem ending in अ or आ, as वृक्षवान्, वृक्षवान्, खट्टवान्, मालावान् ॥ Fourthly अ or आ in the penultimate : as—पयस्वान्, यशस्वान्, भास्वान् ॥

Why do we say “म or अ ending or म or अ penultimate”? Observe अग्निमान्, वायुमान् ॥ Why do we say “with the exception of यव &c”? Observe यवमान्, वाल्मीमान्, उर्मिमान् ॥

The following is the list of यवादि words.

1. थृ, 2. इल्म, 3. उम्मे, 4. भूमि, 5. कृषि, 6. कुञ्चा, 7. वशी, 8. द्राक्षा, 9. प्राक्षा ॥  
 These words either end in म् and अ or have these as their penultimate.  
 10. भ्रजि, 11. घ्रजि, 12. सञ्जि. These are exceptions to VIII. 2. 15. 13. हारत्,  
 14. ककुत्, 15. गरुत् ॥ These are exceptions to VIII. 2. 10. 16. इष्टु, 17. मष्टु, 18. हुम्,  
 19. मण्ड, 20. खुम् ॥ These are exceptions to VIII. 2. 11.

This is an ाkrītīgaṇa. Wherever in a word, the ए of मतुप् is not changed to इ, though the rules require it, that word should be classified under बवारि class. In the secondary word नार्मत् (= नृमत् इं), the ए change has not taken place, because the अ is here a Bahiranga, the real vowel being ए ॥

The word नात् in the sūtra is the Ablative of म्, i. e. of ए+अ; it is a Sa-māhāra Dvandva of these two letters.

झयः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ झयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वयन्तादुत्तरस्य मतोर्वै इत्यथमादेशो भवति ॥

10. The ए is substituted for the म् of मत् after a stem ending in a mute consonant.

As अग्निचित्स्वान् मामः, उद्दिवस्वान् घोषः, विश्वस्वान् वलाहकः, इन्द्रो महस्यान्, दृष्टान् वेशः ॥

संज्ञायाम् ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये मतोर्वै इत्यथमादेशो भवति ॥

11. The ए is substituted for म् of मत्, when the word so formed is a Name.

As अहीवती, कपीवती, ऋषीवती, मुनीवती ॥ For long vowel, see VI. 3. 120.

आसन्दीवद्ष्टुविश्वक्रीवत्कक्षीवदुमण्ड्यर्मणवती ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आसन्दीवत्, अष्टीवत्, चक्रीवत्, कक्षीवत्, रुमणवत्, चर्मणवती ॥  
 वृत्तिः ॥ आसन्दीवद् अष्टीवत् चक्रीवत् कक्षीवद् रुमणवत् चर्मणवती इत्येतानि संज्ञायां निपात्यन्ते ॥

12. The following Names are irregularly formed : ासन्दीवत्, ाष्टीवत्, चक्रीवत्, कक्षीवत्, रुमणवत्, चर्मणवत्.

The change of म् to ए in these was obtained from the last sūtra. The irregularity consists in the substitutions of stems. आसन्दीवत्, is from the stem आसन् which is here changed to आसन्ती ॥ As आसन्दीवान् मामः, आसन्दीवद् अहिस्थलम् ॥ As in the following śloka :

आसन्दीवति धान्यादं रुक्मिणं हरितसज्जम् ।

अदर्शं वदन्धं साराङ्गं देवेन्द्रो जनमेजयः ॥

When not a name, we have आसनवान् ॥ Others say, that there is a separate and distinct stem आसन्ती, as in the sentence औदुम्बरी राजासन्ती भवति ॥ The change of म् to ए after this word would take place regularly by the last sūtra : its mention here, according to these authors, is merely explanatory. 2. अष्टीवत् is from

आश्य which is changed to आषी ॥ As अषीवान् the name of a particular portion of body; the knee-joints. Otherwise अस्थिवान् ॥ 3. चक्रीवत् is from चक्र which is changed to चक्री, as चक्रीवान् राजा ॥ Otherwise we have चक्रवान् ॥ चक्रीवन्ति सरोहविर्द्धानानि भवन्ति is a Vedic example. It means सारस्वते सर्वेजङ्गमानि सदौ हविर्धानानि, न स्वेकवाचास्थितानि, तानि तत्र तत्र कर्त्तजाय चक्रयुक्तानि भवन्ति ॥ 4. कक्षीवत् is from कक्ष्या, there is vocalisation of क् and the lengthening is by VI. 4. 2. कक्षीवान् is the name of a Rishi. Otherwise we have, कक्ष्यावान् ॥ 5. रुमण्डत् is from रुमण which is changed to रुमण् ॥ Otherwise we have लवण्वान् ॥ Others say, that there is a distinct word रुमन्, and the न् is not elided, but changed to ण् ॥ Or that the affix मत् takes the augment नुद् ॥ 6. चर्मण्वती is from चर्मद्, there is non-elision of द् and its change to ण् ॥ Or मत् has taken नुद् augment. The Charmanvati is the name of a river. Otherwise we have चर्मवती ॥

**उदन्वानुदधौ च ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदन्वान्, उदधौ, च ॥**  
वृत्तिः ॥ उदन्वानित्युक्तराष्ट्रस्य मतादुदन्वानो निपात्यते उदधावर्ये संज्ञायां विषये ॥

13. The word उदन्वान् is irregularly formed, in the sense of "a sea".

It is derived from उदक 'water' with the affix मत् ॥ उदन्वान् is the name of a Rishi, because he controlled the rains, it rained at his command. It also means ocean or that in which water is held, like तटाक &c. The affix वि is added by III. 3 93, and उदक changed to उद् by VI. 3. 58, and thus we have उदविः ॥ Why do we say "when meaning a sea"? Observe उदकवान् घटः 'a pot having water'. Here the main idea is not that of "holding or containing", but simply the general fact of possessing water: a human being may also possess water in the same way.

**राजन्वान्सौराज्ये ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजन्वान्, सौराज्ये ॥**  
वृत्तिः ॥ राजन्वानिति निपात्यते, सौराज्ये गम्यमाने ॥

14. Also राजन्वान्, when the sense is of a good government.

The kingdom whose king is good is called राजन्वान् देशः, राजन्वती पृथी ॥ The affix मतुप् is used here in the sense of प्रशंसा or praise. Otherwise राजवान् ॥

**छन्दसीरः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, इ, रः ॥**  
वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये इवर्णन्ताद्रेकान्ताचोत्तरस्य मतोविलं भवति ॥

15. In the Chhandas इ is substituted for the ए of मत्, when the stem ends in इ (or ई) or रः ॥

To take some examples of a stem ending in इ, as विषती याज्ञानुवाक्या भवति; हरिमो मे इन् स्ता; अधिपति वती शुहेति; चतुरग्निवानिव; भारेवानेतु मा विषात् (भारेवान् from यदि with vocalisation). सरस्वतीवान्, भारतीवान्, दधीवान्द्रहः ॥ As all rules have

optional force in the Chhandas, we have no change here सप्तिमन्त्रम्; अथिमान्, कहतीमान् सूर्ये ते व्यावायिकीमन्त्र ॥ Of stems ending in ए we have शीर्वान्, धूर्वान्, आशीर्वान् ॥

अनो तुद ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनः, तुद ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसार्थि वर्तते इन्तादुच्चरस्य मतोरुडागमो भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

16. The affix मत् gets the augment तुद्, in the Chhandas, after a stem ending in अन् ॥

As अक्षण्वन्तः कर्णवन्तः सखायः; अस्थन्वन्तं यदनस्यां विभास्ति (Rig. I. 164. 4), अक्षण्वता लाङ्गलेन; शीर्षण्वती, मूर्ढन्वती ॥

The word अक्षण्वत् is thus formed : आक्षि + मतुष् = अक्ष् + अन् + मत् (अनन् is substituted for the final of akshi by VII. I. 76) = अक्षमत् (the त् is elided by VIII. 2. 7). Now we add the augment तुद्। If this augment is added to मतुष्, as मतुद् then it becomes a *portion* of मतुष्, and this त् would be changed to त् by VIII. 3. 9 read with I. I. 54, and not the letter त्, because त् intervenes. If we add this augment to the end of the stem, then in अक्षण्वता &c. we cannot change त् to त् because of the prohibition in VIII. 4. 37, and the augment being तुद्, the त् would be changed to ह् by VIII. 3. 7 in शुपथिन्तरः &c (VIII. 2. 17). The first view, however, is the correct one and the difficulty in its acceptance is obviated by तुटोऽसिद्धत्वात् तस्य च वस्वं न भवति; ततः परस्य च भवति ; as shown above.

The तुद् augment being considered as asiddha, is not changed to त्, but the letter following it, is so changed. Thus अक्षमत् (VII. I. 76) + मत् = अक्ष + मत् (the त् of the stem is elided by VIII. 2. 7). Add the augment तुद् now, and we have अक्ष + त्तमत् ॥ The augment according to VIII. 2. 1, is asiddha, so that according to VIII. 2. 9, त् is substituted for त्, and not for त्, as would have been required by I. I. 54.

नाद् घस्य ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नात्, घस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नकारान्तादुच्चरस्य घसंजकस्य तुडागमो भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

वाच्चिकम् ॥ भूरिदावस् तुद् वक्तव्यः ॥ वा: ॥ रथिन ईकारान्तादेशो च परतः ॥

17. In the Chhandas, the affixes तर् and तम् receive the augment तुद् after a stem in त् ॥

The affixes तरेष् and तमेष् are called घ ॥ Thus शुपथिन् + तर् = शुपथि + तर् (VIII. 2. 7) = शुपथि + त्तर् (VIII. 2. 17) = शुपथिन्तरः ॥ So also इस्युहन्तमः ॥

*Vart*—The augment तुद् is added to these affixes after भूरिदावन् ; as भूरिदावत्तरः (III. 2. 74, the affix is वनिष्).

*Vart*—Long ई is the substitute of the final of रथिन् before तर् and तम् ॥ The word रथित् is formed by the affix इनि in the sense of मतुष् ॥ The final त् is first elided by VIII. 2. 7, and then for the short ई of रथि the long ई is substituted by the present वार्तिका, If the long ई were substituted for the final त् of रथिन् as रथई + तर्, then this long ई being asiddha, it could not be compounded by ekādeśa with the preceding ई into ई, and the form would always remain रथईतरः ॥ As रथीतरः, and रथीतम् रथीनाम् ॥ Or this ई may be considered to have come after रथ् in the sense of मतुष् ॥

कृपो रो लः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृपः, रः, लः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृपेष्ठा रे रेफस्य लकारोदशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कृपणकृपाणकृषीटकर्पूरादयोऽपि क्रपेष्व इटब्याः ॥

वा० ॥ बाल्मूललघुसुरालमहगुलीनां वा रोमापद्यतइति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ कपिलकाशीनां सताछन्दसोर्वा रे लमापद्यतइति वक्तव्यम् ॥

18. For the र of the root कृप्, there is substituted ल् ॥

The र here merely indicates the sound, and includes both the single consonant र् and the same consonant of the vowel अ ॥ So also with ल् ॥ So that for the single र् there is substituted ल् ; and for र् when a portion of अर्, the अ is substituted, i. e. अर् becomes ल् ॥ Thus कृप् = कल्प्, as in the sūtra लुट च कल्पः (I. 3. 93). कल्पा, कल्पारै, कल्पाः ॥ कल्पः, कल्पवान् ॥

The word कृपा is derived from the root कृप् by vocalisation, as it has been enumerated in Bhidādi class (क्रपेः संप्रसारयं च III. 3. 104). The vocalised root-form कृप is not to be taken here, as it is a लक्षणिका form.

*Vart* :—The words कृपण, कृपाण, कृषीट, कर्पूर &c, are also from कृप् ॥ Or by the Uṇādi diversity, the अ change does not take place.

*Vart* :—Optionally so of बाल &c. As, बालः or बारः, मूलम् or मूरम्, लघु or रघु, असुरः or असुलः, अलम् or अरम्, अहगुलिः or अहगुरिः ॥

*Vart* :—Optionally so in the Vedas, or when names, of कपिलका &c, as कपिरकः or कपिलकः, तिल्पलीकम् or तिर्प्तीकम्, लोमाणि or रोमाणि, पांशुरं or पांशुलं, कर्म or कल्म, शुकः or शुङ्गः, कल्मवं, कर्मवं ॥

Some say 'र and ल are one': and operations regarding र may be performed with regard to ल ॥

उपसर्गस्यायतौ ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उप नर्गस्य, अयतौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अयतौ परत उपसर्गस्य यो रेहस्तस्य लकार अ. अ तो भवति ॥

19. ल् is substituted for the र of a Preposition, when अयते follows.

Thus पलायते, आयते ॥ Here arises the question, does the word अयति qualify the word र्, or does it qualify the word Preposition. In the first view, the sūtra would mean, "the र् immediately followed by अयति is changed to ल्" ॥ But as a matter of fact, र् is never immediately followed by अयति ॥ Thus in प्र+अयति or परा+अयति, the letter अ and आ intervene respectively. The ekādeśa sandhi of these, will make र् immediately followed by अयति ; but the ekādeśa, being sthānivat will prevent it. This difficulty however, is overcome by the maxim येन नाव्यवधानं तेन व्यवहितेऽपि वचनप्रामाण्यात्, for otherwise the rule will be useless. For the same reasons, परि+अयते = पल्यते, though here अ् intervenes between र् and अयते ॥ In short, the intervention of one letter is considered as no intervention.

In the second view, the sūtra would mean when a Preposition is followed by ayat then its र् is changed to ल्, and none of these difficulties will arise

with regard to the above forms. But then would arise a fresh difficulty, for the र् of प्रति would also require to be changed into ल् ॥ Some say, that प्रति is never followed by अव्यति; while others hold that the form दृश्ययते (प्रति + अव्यते) is valid. According to the first view, the valid form is प्रश्ययते ॥ The र् of the Prepositions दुर् and निर् is changed to ल्, but this र् is not changed to ल्, because it is asiddha: thus we have the forms निरश्यनम्, दुरश्यनम् ॥ But there is a preposition निर् also the र् of which is changed to ल्, as निलश्यनम् ॥ See VII. 2. 46. According to the Siddhānta Kaumudi, there is a Preposition दुर् also, which gives दुलयते ॥

**ओ यडि ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रः, यडि ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ गृ इत्यतस्य धातो रेफस्य लकार अदैशो भवति यडि परतः ॥

**20.** ल् is substituted for the र् of गृ in the Intensive.

Thus निजेगिस्थते, निजेगिस्थेते, निजेगिस्थन्ते ॥ The root गृ takes यडि, when the sense of contempt is conveyed, with regard to the action denoted by the root, (III. 1. 24). गहितं गिलति = जेगिस्थते ॥

Some say that र् of the sūtra includes the two roots गृ (गिरति Tud. 117) and गृ (गृष्णति Kry. 28). Others hold that the Tudādi gr̥ī is only taken and not the Kryādi. The Kryādi gr̥ī never takes the Intensive form, no example of which is to be met in literature.

Why do we say in the Intensive? Observe निरीर्यते with the Passive affix वक् ॥

**अचि विभाषा ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचि, विभाषा ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अजाहै प्रश्यते परतो ओ रेफस्य विभाषा लकारादैशो भवति ॥

**21.** The र् of gr̥ī is optionally changed to ल्, before an affix beginning with a vowel.

As निगिरति or निगिलति, निगरणम् or निगलनम्, निगारकः or निगालकः ॥

This is a vyavasthita-vibhāshā, the optional forms have particular meanings. Thus गळः meaning 'neck' is always with ल्; while गरः 'poison' is always with र्.

In निरार्थे or निराल्यते, the elision of रि is considered sthānivad, and hence this option, though the actual affix begins with व् ॥ Obj.—The sthānivad-bhāva rule is invalid here by VIII. 2. 1. Ans. The rule पूर्वाचासिद्धं does not hold good with regard to the rules of संयोगादिलोप, सत्त्व and जस्त on the maxim "तस्य दोषः संयोगादिलोपलस्यत्वेषु" ॥

Or the र् will be *first* changed to ल्, as being antaranga, and then the रि will be elided.

The forms गिरौ, निरः are either from the Kryādi root gr̥ī, or /-change has not taken place on the maxim धातोः स्वरूपमहते तत्प्रत्यये विश्वानम्, and as the

affixes औ and अः are not affixes which are ordained after a verb, but are affixes added to nouns, hence the ल change has not taken place. In fact the words 'an affix beginning with a vowel' in the sūtra, means "a verbal affix beginning with a vowel," and not a noun affix. These are the Dual and Plural of the Nominative case of गु formed with the affix किंप्॥

परेष्ठ धाक्षयोः ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ परेः, च, घ-अक्षयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परि इत्येतस्य यो रेफस्तस्य पशाद्वे अक्षयो च परतो विभाषा लकार आदेशो भवति ॥

वर्त्तिकम् ॥ योगं चेति वन्नव्यम् ॥

22. The र् of परि is changed to ख्, before gha and anka.

As परिपः or पलिषः, पर्यङ्कः or पत्यङ्कः ॥ The word घ here means the word-form घ, and not the technical घ of तरप् and तमप् ॥ See III. 3. 84 by which हन् is replaced by घ ॥

*Vārt:*—So also, it must be stated, before the word योगः ॥ As, परियोगः or पलियोगः ॥

संयोगान्तस्य लोपः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ संयोगान्तस्य, लोपः ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ संयोगान्तस्य पदस्य लोपो भवति ॥

23. When a word ends in a double consonant, the last consonant is dropped.

As गोमान्, यवमान्, कृतवान् and हतवान् ॥ In श्रेयान्, भूयान्, the श though subsequent in order, does not prevent the operation of this rule, because it is asiddha (VIII. 2. 66). Thus श्रेयस् + स् = श्रेयन्स् + स् (VII. 1. 70), = श्रेयन्स् (VI. 1. 68) = श्रेयन् (VIII. 2. 66) = श्रेयन् (VIII. 2. 23) = श्रेयान् (VI. 4. 8). But though the रुत्व does not debar lopa, it debars the जश्व rule. By VIII. 2. 39, the final स् required to be changed to a letter of जश्व class; रु prevents it. As यशः, पशः ॥

For रुत्व is ordained even where the present संयोगान्तलोप applies and where it does not apply. Thus it is ordained in श्रेयन्, where the present sūtra applies, as well as in पश्, where this sūtra does not apply. But the जश्व rule (VIII. 2. 39) covers the *whole* ground of रुत्व, hence if जश्व rule were not debarred by रुत्व, the latter would find *no* scope. Therefore रुत्व debars जश्व to justify its existence, but it does not debar संयोगान्तलोपः for it still has scope left to it elsewhere.

In दध्वन् and मध्वन् formed from दधि + अन् and मधु + अन्, by changing इ and उ to य and ई, we have दध्यु + अन् and मध्यु + अन्, where य् and ई are final in a pada, and so they require to be elided. It is, however, not done, because यश्व substitution is a Bahiranga operation, as it depends upon two words and consequently, is considered asiddha for the purposes of this rule, which depends on one word only.

Why do we say 'of a Pada'? Observe गोमन्तौ, गोमन्तः ॥

रात्सस्य ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ रात्, सस्य ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ संयोगान्तपदस्य यो रेफस्तस्मादुच्चरस्यान्तस्य सकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

24. Of a word ending in a conjunct consonant, only स् is elided, if it comes after र; (but any other consonant coming after र is not elided).

Thus अक्षः and अन्तः for अक्षार्द्ध and अत्सार्द्ध the Aorist of क्षर् and स्तर् in the following passages: गोभिरक्षाः, प्रत्यञ्चमन्ताः ॥ The ईर् is not added as a Vedic diversity. See VII. 3. 97.

So also मातुः, वितुः for मातुर्स् and वितुर्स् ॥ Here by VI. I. 111, the क्ष+अ of मातृ+अस् is changed to ड, which is followed by ई by I. I. 51.

Though the final स् would have been elided even after ई by VIII. 2. 23, the special mention of स् after ई shows, that this is a niyama rule. So that any other letter than स् following after ई will not be dropped. Thus ऊर्क् from ऊर्ज्ज+विष् (III. 2. 177), here ऊ is not elided, though final in a pada, but is changed to a guttural by VIII. 2. 30, and to क् by VIII. 4. 56. Also अमार्द् from शूज् in लङ् the तिष् (त्) is elided by VI. I. 18; there is विद्धि by VII. 2. 114, the ऊ is changed to औ by VIII. 2. 36, which is changed to ऊ VIII. 4. 53 and finally to ऊ (चर्) ॥

धि च ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ धि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धकारादौ प्रत्यये परतः सकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

*Kārikā*:—धि सकारे सिच्चो लोपशकाद्वीति प्रयोजनम् ।

आशाध्वं तु कथं जशत्वं सकारस्य भविष्यति ॥

सर्वमेवं प्रसिद्धं स्याच्छुतिश्चापि न विद्यते ॥

लुड्ब्धापि न मुद्देष्ये यहणं तेऽपि दुष्यति ॥

घसिभसोर्न सिध्येत तस्मात्सिद्धप्रहणं न तत् ॥

छान्दसो वर्णलोपो वा यथेष्कर्त्तरमवैरे ॥

25. The स् is dropped before an affix beginning with ध ॥

As अलविष्वम्, अलविद्वम्, अपविष्वम्, अपविद्वम् for अलविष्वम् and अपविद्वम् ॥ Had this स् (of सिच्) not been elided; then स् would be first changed to औ, and then to a letter of जग् class (VIII. 4. 53), औ would never be heard even optionally, though so required by VIII. 3. 79, but the forms would be always with ड, as अलविष्वम् &c. ॥

From an *ishti*, the elision of स् is confined to the स् of the Aorist सिच्, and not to any other स् ॥ Thus स् is not elided in चकाद्वि in चकाद्वि पलितं शिरः (हे शिरः पलितं सच्च चकाद्वि शोभस्वेतर्यः). It is the Imperative of चकास् the सिष् is changed to हि, and हि to धि (VI. 4. 101), and स् to ई by VIII. 4. 53. Similarly it does not apply to पवस् धावति, where स् is changed to औ and then to ड (VI. I. 114)

—पयो धावति ॥ The elision of स् in सन्धिः from घस् with न्तिन्, and in बधाम् from भस् in the Imperative with ताम्, is a Vedic diversity. But according to Patanjali चकादि is the proper form; while in पयो धावति the antaranga ह debars this bahir-रांगा स् elision.

Obj.—If so, how do you form आशाध्वं, by the elision of स् of शास्; for स् would not be elided? Ans.—The स् is not here elided but changed to जश् letter, by VIII. 2. 39. Obj. If so, ह् may always be changed to जश् letter, and there is no need of eliding it; in pronouncing, "it will make no difference, whether you pronounce with one consonant or two, e.g. आशाङ्गम् or आशाध्वं ॥ Moreover by so doing, you will shorten the sūtra VIII. 3. 78, by omitting the word लुङ् from it. For the forms like अच्योङ्गम्, अष्टोङ्गम्, will be evolved regularly by changing स् of सिच् to ह्; and the ह् after it will be changed to ङ्, and then ह् changed to ङ् by जश्वत् (VIII. 4. 53). Ans.—So far it will be all right, but in सेद् Aorist we shall never get the alternative forms अलविध्वम् &c, though we may get the form अलविङ्गम् (VIII. 3. 79). Therefore, the word सिच् should be taken.

Obj.—If सिच् is to be taken here, then the स् of घस् and भस् will not be dropped, and we shall not get the forms सन्धिः and बधां in the passages सन्धिभ्य मे सपीतिश्च मे, and बधां ते हरीधानाः ॥ Therefore, the present sūtra should not be confined to सिच् only. Ans.—We shall explain सन्धिः by saying, that it is a word derived from सध्, and so also बधां from the root बन्ध ॥

[*N. B.*.—The word सन्धिः is generally thus derived; अद् + न्तिन् = घस् + ति (II. 4. 39) = घस् + ति (VI. 4. 100) = ह् + ति (VIII. 2. 26). Had the present rule been confined to सिच्, the स् could not have been elided by VIII. 2. 26. See VI. 4. 100, where these two forms are developed]. Or we may explain these forms as Vedic irregularity, by which letters are sometimes dropped, and so घस् and भस् have lost their स् ॥ That letters are sometimes dropped in the Chhandas, we see in passages like the following इष्कर्त्तरमध्वरे for निष्कर्त्तरमध्वरे; तुभ्येदमग्ने for तुभ्यमिदमग्ने; भाम्बानां चहः for नाम्बानां चहः; अव्याधिनी रुग्णः or अव्याधिनी शुग्णाः ॥

The above discussion is summarised in the following

*Kārikā*.—धिसकारे सिचोलोपश्काङ्गीति प्रयोजनम्, "This rule is confined to the elision of the स् of सिच् only, for the sake of preserving the स् in चकादि" ॥

आशाध्वं तु कथं? जम्ब्वं सकारस्य भविष्यति ॥ "How then do you form आशाध्वं by the elision of स्? The स् is not elided but changed to a जश् letter".

सर्वमेवं प्रसिद्धं स्थाच्, लुति भापि न विद्यते । लुण्डभापि न मूर्धन्ये महणं सेहि दुष्यति ॥ "If this be so, then let जश् come every where, for there is no difference in sound, moreover this will shorten VIII. 3. 78 by omitting the word लुङ् from it. The जश् cannot come every where, as the difficulty will be in सेद् Aorist". घसि भसोर्न सिष्येत्, तस्मात् सिच् भसणं न तत् । "The forms सन्धिः and बधां could not be formed

from चस् and भस् if the elision of स् were confined to सिंच्. Hence सिंच् should not be read into this sūtra."

छान्दो वर्णलोपो वा यथेष्कत्तरमध्वरे " The elision of स् in सम्बिधः and ब्रह्माः will be explained as a Vedic anomaly, for letters are often dropped in Vedic forms, as in इष्कत्तरमध्वरे instead of निष्कत्तरमध्वरे ॥"

झलो झलि ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ झलो, झलि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इल उच्चरस्य सकारस्य झलि परतो लोपो भवति ॥

26. The स् is elided when it is preceded by a *jhal* consonant (any consonant except semi-vowels and nasals), and is followed by an affix beginning with a *jhal* consonant.

Thus अभित्त for अभिस्त्त, अभित्थाः for अभित्थाः ॥ So also अच्छित्त, अच्छित्थाः, अवाच्चाम्, अवाच्च ॥ The last example may also be explained by VII. 4. 49; the elision of the स of सिंच् being considered as asiddha, the स of the root is changed to त् ॥

Why do we say 'of a *jhal* consonant'? Observe अमंत्र and अमंथाः ॥ Why do we say followed by a *jhal* consonant? Observe आभित्थाताम्, अभिस्तत ॥

The स of this sūtra refers also to the स of सिंच्; no other स is elided. As सोममनुत् स्तोता; उष्टू श्यानम् ॥ Here the स of स्तोता and श्यानं, though preceded by a *jhal* letter त्, could never be elided as they do not form portion of *one* word.

हस्त्वादङ्गात् ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ हस्त्वात्, अङ्गात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हस्त्वान्तावङ्गादुच्चरस्य सकारस्यलोपो भवति झलि परतः ॥

27. The स् is elided, before an affix beginning with a *jhal* consonant, when it is preceded by a stem ending in a short vowel.

As अकृतः अहयाः ॥ Why do we say after a short vowel stem? Observe अच्छोट्, अहोट् ॥ Why do we say 'after a stem'? Observe अकृथाः, अलाविदाम्, अलाविषुः अपाविदाम् and अपाविषुः ॥ Why do we say "before an affix beginning with a *jhal*". Observe अकृथाताम्, अकृषत ॥

This lopa is also of the सिंच्, therefore not here हिष्टरां, हिष्टमाम् ॥ Here to the word हि is added the affix षुच् (V. 4. 18), and then the comparative affixes तर and तम with आम् (V. 4. 11). This स् is not dropped.

इट ईटि ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इटः, ईटि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इट उच्चरस्य सकारस्य लोपो भवति ईटि परतः ॥

28. The स् is dropped after the augment इट्, if after this स् the augment ईट् follows.

Thus the Aorist-stem of लु is अलाविस् (III. 1. 44; VII. 2. 35), the Personal ending त् gets the augment ईट् by VII. 3. 96; and by the present

sūtra, this स between इ and ई is dropped, and we have अलावीत्; so also, अवारीत्, असेवीत्, अकोरीत्, अमोरीत् ॥

Why do we say 'after the augment इ॒' ? Observe अकार्षीत्, अहार्षीत् ॥ Why when the augment ई॒ follows ? Observe अलाविद्याम् अलाविषुः ॥

स्कोः संयोगाद्योरन्ते च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्कोः, संयोग-आद्योः, अन्ते, च ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ पदस्यान्ते यः संयोगः शालि परतो वा संयोगस्तदाद्योः सकारककारयोलोपो भवति ॥ नर्तिकम् ॥ शालि सदीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

29. The स् or क्, when initial in a conjunct consonant, is dropped, before a jhal affix, and at the end of a word.

A conjunct consonant, having स or क as its first member, when coming at the end of a Pada, or when followed by a jhal beginning affix, loses its स् or क् ॥ Thus from the root लश् we have लग्नः and लग्नवान् before the jhal affix त् and तथत् ; the substitution of न् for त् is considered asiddha for this purpose (VIII. 2. 1). So also साधुलक् at the end of a Pada. Similarly मग्नः मग्नवान्, साधुमक् from मस्ज् ॥ So also with initial क्, as तद् from तश्; so also तटः, तटवान्, काष्ठतद् ॥

*Vārtika*—It should be rather stated that "before a jhal affix included in the pratyahāra सङ्" ॥ The सङ् is a pratyāhāra formed with the स of सक् (III. 1. 5) and the ङ् of महिङ् (III. 4. 78). It thus includes all the kṛit affixes, and dhātu affixes i. e. affixes which come after a *verb* and not the Taddhita or the Feminine affixes. This Vārtika applies to all the preceding sūtras of this sub-division and is of use in the following places.

गिरोऽ भोधिर्द्विर्दूरं च दृष्टस्यः काष्ठशक्स्थिरः । कुञ्जचाधुर्येति मा स्मैषु सत्प्रार्थीति भवात्यति ॥

So that in गिरः there should not be the optional ल by VIII. 2. 21. In अभोधिः, the स् of अभस् is not elided before र्थिः as required by VIII. 2. 25. In द्विर्दूरं the rule VIII. 2. 27 does not apply. In दृष्टस्यः the rule VIII. 2. 26 does not apply. In काष्ठशक्स्थिरः the rule VIII. 2. 29 is non-applicable. In कुञ्जचा the rule VIII. 2. 30 does not apply. In हुर्यः (हुरं वहति) there is not lengthening by VIII. 2. 77. Thus काष्ठशक्स्थाता ॥ Here क् would require to be elided as initial in a consonant, followed by a jhal consonant य् ॥ काष्ठशक् is formed by adding क्षिण् to शक् ॥ But according to Patanjali, there can be formed no valid word from शक् with क्षिण्, *a fortiori*, no such word can be formed as काष्ठशक्स्थाता (काष्ठशक्ति सिष्टति).

In वास्त्यर्थम्, काकर्थर्थम्, the स् and क् are not elided, because य् is a Bahiranga substitute and asiddha, and the word वास्त्य काकर्थ are not considered as Pada, ending in a conjunct consonant.

Why do we say "of स् and क्" ? Observe नर्तिसि, वर्तिसि ॥

Why do we say 'initial in a conjunct consonant' ? Observe पदः शक् ॥

Why do we say 'at the end of a word' ? Observe सक्तिता, तसकः ॥

चोः कुः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ चोः, कुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चवर्गस्य कवर्गादेशो भवति शालि परतः पदान्ते च ॥

30. A Guttural is substituted for a Palatal, before a *jhal* affix, or at the end of a word.

Thus पक्ता, पक्तुम्, पक्तव्यम् and व्योदनपक् from पच् ॥ Similarly वक्ता, वक्तुम्, वक्तव्यम् and वाक् ॥

In कुञ्चा the feminine in दाप् of कुञ्च (कुञ्च) by IV. 1. 4 list, the ज् a palatal is followed by च् a jhal letter, and therefore, it should be changed to a guttural. It is not so, because Pāṇini himself uses this word, in this form, in sūtra III. 2. 59. Or because the rule is confined to सह affixes only. Or the root is कुञ्च without इ and with a penultimate न्, and not ज् as we find in Dhātupāṭha कुञ्च कौटिल्याल्पी भावयोः (Bhu. 200). With the elision of न् we have निकुञ्चितः before the निक् affix (VI. 4. 24) कुञ्चितः in Past Part. and अचोकुञ् ॥ In निकुञ्चितम् we cannot have the optional कित् of the Nishṭhā by I. 2. 21, because the elision of the penultimate न् by VI. 4. 24 preceded on the basis of the affix being कित्, thus कुञ्च+न्त्=कुञ्च+त् ॥ This elision of न् will not make the root उद्युपधा for the purposes of the application of rule I. 2. 21, on the maxim सप्तिप्रातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं सद्विधातस्य ॥ In fact, one of the reasons on which this maxim is based, is this very fact, that the elision of न् does not make the root उद्युपधा for the purposes of making the affix non-कित् ॥ The affix निक् takes the augment इ under VII. 2. 9 (vārt). The word कुञ्च is formed from this root by किन् affix (III. 2. 59): the final च् is first elided by VIII. 2. 23, and then ज् is changed to च् by VIII. 2. 62. The rule VI. 4. 24 thus finds no scope here.

In this view of the case we say कुञ्च is an irregular form of this root kunch, because it is so exhibited in III. 2. 59. There the anusvāra and parasavarṇa change of this न् to ज् by VIII. 3. 24 being considered asiddha, there is no palatal ज्, and hence there is no guttural change.

हो ढः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हः, ढः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हकारस्य डकारादेशो भवति शालि परतः पदान्ते च ॥

31. ढ is substituted for ह before a jhal letter and at the end of a word.

Thus सोगा, सोतुम्, सोडव्यम् ॥ The इ is not added by VII. 2. 48, जलाषाद्, तुराषाद् by चिंव (III. 2. 63, VI. 3. 137 and VIII. 3. 56) बोडा, बोडुम्, बोडव्यं, प्रष्टवाद्, वित्यवाद् (III. 2. 64) from सह and वह, with the affixes त्, तुम्, तव्य and चिंव ॥ For the त् of these affixes there is substituted ष by VIII. 2. 40, and this ष is changed to ढ by VIII. 4. 41, before which is dropped the first ढ by VIII. 3. 13. For the त् in प्रष्टवाद् either ढ् is substituted by VIII. 2. 39, or द् by VIII. 4. 56.

दादेधातोधेः ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द-आदेः, धातोः, घः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हकारोदधातोर्हकारस्य यकारादेशो भवति शालि परतः पदान्ते ॥

32. Of a root beginning with द्, the ज् is substituted for ह, before a jhal letter or when final in a Pada.

For the final ह of a इ-beginning root, घ is substituted under similar circumstances. As दग्धा, दग्धुम्, दग्धव्यय्, काष्ठधक्, शोग्धा, शोग्धुम्, शोग्धव्यय्, गोग्धक्, from दह् and दुह् ॥ For the त् of the affixes त् &c. घ is substituted by VIII. 2. 40, before which, the घ becomes ग by VIII. 4. 53. For the घ in काष्ठदृष् is substituted ग by VIII. 2. 39, or क् by VIII. 4. 56, and इ becomes घ by VIII. 2. 37.

Why do we say "of a root beginning with इ"? Observe लेडा, लेडुम्, लेडव्यय्, दुडलिह् ॥

The force of the genitive case in धातोः is not to make it in apposition with the word शोदः, but it has the force of denoting a part as related to the whole: so that it means "the word which begins with इ and forms part of a root, for the इ of such-a part is substituted घ." What does follow from it? The letter घ is substituted in अधोग् also, which begins with अ ॥ For without the above explanation (धातोरवयवो यो वादिशब्दस्तत्त्ववयवस्य इकारस्य &c), the घ would have come in examples like मास्म धोक्, without the augment अ, but not where there was the augment अ ॥ Moreover, that it is an अवयवयोगा यद्युपी will appear necessary in sūtra VIII. 2. 37.

If it has the force of denoting a 'portion or member', how do you explain in the forms शोग्धा, शोग्धुम्, for here no *portion* is taken but the *whole* word? This will be explained on the maxim of व्यपशेशिवद् भाषः "An operation which affects something on account of some special designation, which for certain reasons attaches to the latter, affects likewise that which stands alone, and to which therefore, just because the reasons for it do not exist, that special designation does not attach". (व्यपशेशिवद् एकस्मिन्) ॥ Or we may explain the sūtra, by saying 'that root which begins with इ in its original enunciation in Dhātupāṭha'? Thus in original enunciation the root is लिह् not beginning with इ ॥ If a Derivative root be formed from it like शामलिश्च (शामलिशमिच्छाति = शामलिश्चाति), it is a root which begins with इ; the इ of this Denominative root, however, will not be changed to घ, for it is not a root of upadeśa. Therefore, when we add विश् to this root, we get शामलिह् by VIII. 2. 31, and not शामलिक् ॥

वा द्रुहमुहण्हिणहाम् ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, द्रुह, मुह, ण्हुह, ण्हिणहाम् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ अह मुह ण्हुह ण्हिणह इत्येतेषां धातूनां इकारस्य वा घकारादेषो भवति शालि परतः पशान्ते च ॥

33. The ह of druh, muh, shṇuh, and shṇih is optionally changed to घ, before a jhal letter or at the end of a word.

Thus श्रुहः, श्रोडा or श्रोग्धा, मिश्रुहक्, मिश्रुद्, मुह, उन्मोग्धा, उन्मुहक्, उन्मुद्, शुह, उत्त्रोग्धा, उत्त्रोडा, उत्त्रुहक्, उत्त्रुद्, ज्ञिह, ज्ञेग्धा, ज्ञेडा, ज्ञिक्, ज्ञिद् ॥

The root द्रुह would have taken always घ by the last sūtra, this makes it optional. The others would not have got घ but for this sūtra.

These roots belong to Radhādi sub-class of Divādi gaṇa: and are

taught there in this very order (Div. 89-91). By belonging to Radhādi subdivision, the इट् is optional (VII. 2. 45). Instead of making the sūtra वातुहार्वीनाम्, this longer formation of the aphorism indicates that the rule applies to यद्गुरुक् also; as नैष्ठक् or शेष्ठुर् ॥ See VII. I. 6, for if the roots were taught not specifically but by गण, then the rule would not apply to यानि luk.

नहो धः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नहः, धः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नहो हकारस्य यकारादेशो भवति इलि परे पशान्ते च ॥

34. The ह of नह् is changed to ध before a jhal letter or at the end of a word.

As नद्धा, नद्धुम्, नद्धव्यम्, उपानत्, परीणत् ॥ The त् of the affixes त् &c, is changed to ध by VIII. 2. 40; and for the preceding ध is substituted द् by VIII. 4. 53. उपानत् is formed by VIII. 2. 39, read with VIII. 4. 56. परीणत् is formed by किंव् as it belongs to सम्पश्चिद् class, the lengthening is by VI. 3. 116, and ण-change by VIII. 4. 14. It would have shortened the processes of transformation, had only त् been ordained in the sūtra, instead of ध; but the ordaining of ध is for the purposes of VIII. 2. 40, by which there should be ध for the participial त् &c, in नद्धम्, and that there should not be the change of this Nishṭhā त् into न् by VIII. 2. 42. Thus नध्+त्=नध्+ध् (VIII. 2. 40)=नद्ध-ध् (VIII. 4. 53). But had the substitute been त्, we should have नद्+त्=नत्रं by VIII. 2. 42.

आहस्थः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आहः, थः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आहो हकारस्य यकारादेशो भवति इलि परतः ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ इप्त्वा भैश्छलन्दसि इत्योति वक्तव्यम् ॥

35. For the ह of the root आह्, there is substituted थ before a jhal letter.

As इत्यात्य, किमात्य ॥ The word आत्य becomes आत्य by VIII. 4. 55. Why has the last mentioned substitute ध not been ordained here, for this ध would also have given the form आत्य by चर change, as the य is also changed to त्; and by so doing there would have been only one sūtra, instead of two i.e. आहनहो ध् would have been enough? Making this separate substitute, is for the sake of indicating that the rule VIII. 2. 40, does not apply here. For had VIII. 2. 40, still applied, the substitute ध of the last sūtra would have been enough. The त् substitute, however, would have been the best.

The word इलि is understood here. Hence there is no change before vowel affixes, as आह, आहतुः, आहः ॥

*Vart:*—In the Chandas, भ is substituted for the ह of ह and मह ॥ Thus गर्वमेन संभरति; महत्य गृणाति; सामिधेन्यो जग्निरे, उद्ग्रामधञ्च निग्रामञ्च ब्रह्म देवा अवीवृथन् ॥

ब्रथ्मस्त्वजस्त्वजमुजयजराजभ्राजच्छांषः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रथ्म, भ्रस्त्व, स्त्वज, मुज, यज, राज, भ्राज, छ, शाम्, षः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रथ भ्रस्ज सृज मृज यज राज भ्राज इत्येतेषां छकारान्तानां शकारान्तानां च यकार आदेशो भवति  
झलि परतः पशन्ते च ॥

36. For the final consonants of vrasch, bhrasj, srij, mrij, yaj, rāj, and bhrāj, and for the final छ and श, there is substituted ष् before a *jhal* letter, or at the end of a word.

Thus व्रद्धः—व्रदा, व्रहुम्, व्रष्ट्यम् मूलवृद् ॥ भ्रदा । भ्रहुम् । भ्रष्ट्यम् । धानाभ्रद् । सृज् ।  
स्रष्टा । स्रहुम् । स्रष्ट्यम् । रज्ञुसृद् । मृज् । मार्टी । मार्हुम् । मार्ह्यम् । कंसपरिसृद् । यज् । यष्टा । यहुम् ।  
यष्ट्यम् । उपयद् । राज् । समाद् । स्वराद्, विराद्, विधाद् ॥ The श ending words would have  
been changed to जश्-letters and the others to Gutturals; this sūtra debars  
that by ordaining ष् ॥ In मूलवृद् and धानाभ्रद् there is vocalisation by VI. 1. 16, the  
स् is elided by VIII. 2. 19, and ष् becomes जश्-letter ष्, which becomes ई by  
VIII. 4. 56. The word शब्दप्राद् is formed by किंत्, there is lengthening and  
no vocalisation.

The roots राज् and भ्राज् are never followed by a *jhal* beginning affix, because such affixes will always take ई augment. These roots are, therefore, mentioned here, for the sake of the change of their ज् to ष्, when at the end of a word. Some, however, form nouns like राष्ट्रः, भ्राष्ट्रः with किंत् affix from these roots by III. 3. 94, वृत्, and ई augment is prevented by VII. 2. 9.

Of roots ending in छ we have प्रच्छः—प्रदा, प्रहुम्, प्रष्ट्यम्, शब्दप्राद् ॥ According to one view, the letter छ should not be mentioned in this sūtra: for by VI. 4. 19, छ is always changed to श, and this श will be changed to ष् by the present sūtra. Others hold, that the change of छ to श by VI. 4. 19 is confined before किंत् or डिंत् affixes, and therefore the mention of छ is necessary in this sūtra; moreover the ष् substitution here, and the ष् substitution in VI. 4. 19. refer to the conjunct letter च्छ (with the augment तुक्). For if it were not so, then छ alone being changed to ष्, the त् of तुक् would be changed to ई, and we should have पृट्टः instead of पृटः ॥

Of roots ending in श we have लिशः—लेदा, लेहुम्, लेष्ट्यम्, लिद्; विशः—वेदा,  
वेहुम्, वेष्ट्यम्, विद् ॥

एकाचो वशो भृत्य-झपन्तस्य स्थ्वोः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक-अचः, वशः, भृत्य-  
झप-अन्तस्य, स्, ध्वोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोरवयवो य एकाच् झपन्तः तदवयवस्य वशः स्थाने भृत्य आदेशो भवति झलि सकोर ध्वपञ्चे  
च परतः पशन्ते च ॥

37. For the letters व, ग, ढ or द in the beginning of a monosyllable, and belonging to a root, and which ends in श, भ, ध, ढ or ध, there is substituted भ, घ, ढ or ध respectively, before स or च्छ, or at the end of a pada (word).

Thus from शुध्—भौस्त्यते, अभुष्म and अर्प्तुत्; from यह्—नि योऽयते न्ययुहुम्,  
पर्जुहुद् ॥ यह् becomes यह् by VIII. 2. 31, and thus it is a root ending in jhash.

From दुह्—(which becomes दुध् by VIII. 2. 32, and thus is a jhash ending root) धार्यते अदुग्धम्, गोधुङ् ॥

So also from गृध् we have अजर्धः the 2nd Person. Sing. Imperfect (लह्) Intensive (yañ luk). There is guna of ल, the स् (of सिए् 2nd Pers. Sing.) is elided (VI. 1. 68), and we have अजर्धै, and for the letter ग of the monosyllabic root, ल is substituted by the present aphorism. अजर्धै ॥ Then the final ध is changed to ह, अजर्धै (VIII. 2. 39). Then ह is changed to र् by VIII. 2. 75, अजर्धै ॥ Then the first र् is elided अजर्धै (VIII. 3. 14). Then there is lengthening by VI. 3. 111, and we have अजर्धः ॥

The monosyllable should be such that it should begin with a वश् and end with a शष् letter, and should be a full root or the portion (अवयव) of a root. In fact, this word which we found necessary in VIII. 2. 32, is absolutely necessary here, in order to explain forms like गर्धप् from the Denominative root गर्दभय, by क्रिवप् ॥

Why do we say “a monosyllable beginning with वश् and ending with शष्?” Observe दामलिह् from the Denominative root दामलिह् ॥ For had एकाच्: not been employed in the sūtra, the word धातोः (VIII. 2. 32) would have qualified वशः and the sūtra would have meant “in a root which ended in a jhash, and which contained a वश् letter as its member; there is jhash substitution for such वश्”, and the ह of दामलिह् would be changed then.

Why do we say “for a वश् letter”? Observe कुध्—कोस्थति here क is not changed to ष ॥ Why do we say ending in jhash? Observe शस्यति ॥ Why before स and ध? Observe बोद्धा, बोद्धुम्, बोद्धव्यम् ॥

Why have we taken ध and not merely ष? Observe वास्त्रि from वध् in the वह् लुक्, Imperative 2nd Per. singular, the हि being changed to षि (VI. 4. 101). The substitutes are four ष, ध, ढ and घ, and their respective sthānins are also four, i. e. व, ग, ढ and द; so that ढ is the substitute of द; but, as a matter of fact, द never so stands at the beginning of a monosyllable, and so there is no द substitution.

**दधस्तथोश्च ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ दधः, त, थोः, च ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ दध इति दधति: कृतद्विवचनो निर्दिश्यते । तस्य इलन्तस्य वशः स्थाने भष् आदेशो भवति तकार-यकार्योः परतम्भकापात् स्थोश्च परतः ॥

**38.** For the द of दध (the reduplicated form of धा) is substituted ध, before the affixes beginning with त, थ, स and before ध्वम् ॥

The word दध is taken in the sūtra as the reduplicated form of धा धधति and not the root दध धारणे of Bhūadi class, as शष् intervenes there. By the word च we draw in the words स and ध्व ॥ Thus धत्तः, धथ्य, धत्स, धस्त्र, धध्वम् ॥ By the express injunction of this sūtra, the elided ज is not

considered as sthānivat. The last sūtra could not have applied to द्ध for two reasons. 1st. It does not begin with a च् letter, for the real reduplicate is भूष, and त् is merely a substitute, and is considered as iiddha. 2ndly. The form द्ध does not end in a jhash consonant, but in a vowel अ, and though this अ is elided before these affixes, yet the lopa would be sthānivat. Hence the necessity of च् in this sūtra. See contra, the vārtika in Mahābhāshya.

The word श्लि is understood here, and so also शपन्तस्य; and there can be no affix, but begins with त् or य्, that can come after द्ध ॥ Why do we employ then the words 'before त् and य्'? Had we not used these, the sūtra would have referred to स् and द्ध only, as being in immediate proximity, and the च् draws them in. According to Padamanjari the words तयोऽभ् could have been dispensed with: for before स् and द्ध, the अ change would have taken place by the last sūtra, whilst by this sūtra, the same change would have taken place before all other श्लि-beginning affixes, and such affixes that can come after द्ध are त् or य्-beginning affixes.

The word jhash is understood here also, therefore the rule applies to द्ध then only, when it assumes the form of द्ध, by the elision of आ; and hence not here दधाति ॥

श्लां जशोन्ते ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्लां, जशः, अन्ते ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ श्लां जश आदेशा भवन्ति पदस्यान्ते वर्तमानानाम् ॥

39. A corresponding ज्, ब्, ग्, ङ् or द् is substituted for all consonants (with the exception of semivowels and nasals) at the end of a word.

As वाग् अब्, श्लिह् अब्, अंगिनचिह्ने अब्, चिहुह् अब् ॥ The word श्लिह् is formed by changing the ह् of लिह् to द् first, and then changing this द् to ब्, a jaś-letter.

The word अन्त 'at the end' is used in the sūtra to indicate that the anuvṛitti of श्लि ceases. Thus वस्ता, वस्तुम्, वस्तव्यम् ॥

The exceptions to this have been given in VIII. 2. 30 &c, and VIII. 2. 66. At an avasāna or Pause, a च् consonant may be substituted for a श्लि by VIII. 4. 56.

शपस्तथोऽद्वौ इधः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ श्लपः, त-थोः, धः, अधः ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ श्लप उत्तरयोस्तकारयो स्थानं भकार आदेशो भवति ॥

40. ध् is substituted for त् or थ् coming after श्, भ्, घ्, ङ् or थ् (jhash), but not after the root धा (द्ध) ॥

Thus from लभ् we have लब्धा, लघुम्, लघव्यम्, अलध्य, अलङ्घा: ॥

The भ् of लभ् is changed to ब् by VIII. 4. 53. From दुहः—दोग्या, दोग्युम्, दोग्यव्यम्, अदुग्ध, अदुग्धा: ॥ The ह् is changed to घ् by VIII. 2. 32, and then it is changed to ङ् by VIII. 4. 53.

From लिहः—लेहा, लेहुम्, लेहव्यम्, अलीह, अलीहाः ॥ In लेहृ &c, the ह is changed to र by VIII. 2. 31, and र changed to व by VIII. 4. 41, before which the preceding व is elided by VIII. 3. 13.

From दुधः—बोद्धा, बोद्धुम्, बोद्धव्यम्, अदुध, अदुधाः ॥ For the ध of दुध there is substituted व by VIII. 4. 53.

Why do we say "but not after the root धा"? Observe धत्तः, धस्यः ॥

पढोः कः सि ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ पढोः, कः, सि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकारदकारयोः ककारोदेशो भवति सकारे परतः ॥

41. क is substituted for ष or ढ before स ॥

Thus for ष of विष् we have विवेष्यते, अवेष्यत्, विविक्षति ॥ For ढ of लिह् (लिड VIII. 2. 31) we have लेष्यति, अलेष्यत्, लिलिक्षति ॥

For the स of the affix स्य &c, is substituted ष by VIII. 3. 59.

Why do we say "before स"? Observe पिनष्टि, लेष्टि ॥

रदाभ्यां निष्ठातो नः पूर्वस्य च दः ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ रदाभ्याम्, निष्ठातः, नः, पूर्वस्य, च, दः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेफक्काराभ्यासुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकार अदेशो भवति । पूर्वस्य चइकारस्य ॥

42. After र and द, for the त of the Participial suffix त and तवत्, there is substituted न, and the same substitution takes place also for the preceding द ॥

After र—आस्तीर्णम्, विस्तीर्णम्, विशीर्णम्, निगीर्णम्, अवगूर्णम् ॥

After द—भिनः, भिन्नवान्, छिनः, छिन्नवान् from भिद् and छिद् ॥

Why do we say "after र and द"? Observe कृतः, कृतवान् ॥ The word र here does not denote the common *sound* र, which would include र्व also, but the consonant र ॥ But even if र be taken a common sound-name including र् and र्व, yet the त change does not take place in कृत &c, because between त and the र-sound, there intervenes vowel-sound ई, for र्व is sounded not like pure र्, but र्+a vowel sound.

Why do we say "of the Participial suffix"? Observe कर्ता, हर्ता ॥

Why do we say "for the त"? Observe चरितम्, हरितम् ॥ Here the त of the Nish्ठā does not follow *immediately* after र, the augment इत् intervenes.

Why do we say "of the preceding"? The succeeding द will not be changed. As भिन्नवद्भ्याम्, भिन्नवद्धिः ॥

In the word कारिः the descendant of कृतः the त of Nish्ठā is immediately preceded by र्, but no change has taken place, because the Vṛiddhi, by which कृ is changed to कार्, is Bahiranga and consequently asiddha, and for the purposes of न change, the र् so obtained is invalid.

संयोगादेरातो धातोर्यण्वतः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ संयोग-आदेः, आतः, धातोः, यण्वतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संयोगादियों धातुराकारान्तो यथावान् तस्मादुत्तरस्य निश्चातकारस्य नकारादेशो भवति ॥

43. For the त of the Nish्ठां there is substituted न, after a root ending in आ and commencing with a conjunct consonant, if the latter contain a semi-vowel.

Thus from द्रा we have प्रद्राणः, प्रद्राणवान् ॥ ग्लानः, ग्लानवान् from ग्ला ॥ These roots द्रा and ग्ला end in आ, have a conjunct consonant in the beginning, one of which is a semi-vowel र and ल ॥

Why do we say "beginning with a double-consonant"? Observe यातः, यातवान् ॥

Why do we say "ending in आ"? Observe च्युतः, च्युतवान्; प्लुतः, प्लुतवान् ॥

Why do we say "after a root"? Observe निर्यातः, निर्यातः ॥ For the roots here या and या do not begin with a conjunct consonant, and that which is a conjunct i. e. र्णि and र्णि is not a root, hence the rule does not apply.

Why do we say "having a यण् or semi-vowel"? Observe स्नातः, स्नातवान् ॥

**ल्वादिभ्यः ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लू-आदिभ्यः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ लूभ् छेदने इत्यत्यभृति तृ वरण इति यावत् वृत्तरणेन समापिता ल्वादयो गृह्णन्ते । तेभ्य उत्तरस्य निश्चातकारस्य नकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ज्ञकारल्वादिभ्यः त्तिनिश्चावज्ञवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ दुर्गोर्धीपिष्टेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ पूज्ञो विनाशाइति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ सिनोत्तर्मासकर्मकर्तृकस्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

44. The त of Nish्ठā is changed to न, after the roots लू and those that follow it.

These roots belong to Kryādi class, and commence from लूभ् छेदने (IX. 13) and end with तृ वरणे (IX. 32).

Thus लूनः, लूनवान्, धूनः, धूनवान्, जीनः, जीनवान् from ज्ञा the vocalisation is by VI. I. 16.

**Vārt**—After a root ending in लू or धू and after a root of Luādi class, the त of the affix न्तिक् is changed to न्, like as in Nish्ठā. Thus कीर्णिः, गीर्णिः, शीर्णिः, लूनिः, पूनिः ॥ These are from कृ (IX. 26), गृ (IX. 28), शृ (IX. 18), लू and पूभ् ॥

**Vārt**—The vowel of the roots तृ गतौ (Bhu. 991) and तृ (Bhu. 997), are lengthened before the Nish्ठā which is changed to न ॥ As आहूनः, विगूनः ॥

**Vārt**—The न change takes place after पूभ् 'to destroy' (Bhu. 1015). As पूना यवाः = विनष्टाः ॥ But पूतं धान्यं from पूभ् 'to purify' (IX. 12).

**Vārt**—The same change takes place after the root सि बन्धने of Svādi class (2) when used in a Reflexive sense of becoming a morsel fit for swallowing. As सिनो मासः स्वयमेव i.e. where a morsel by being mixed with curd, condiments &c, becomes rounded of itself, there this form is used. बध्यमानः पिण्डीक्रियमाणो मासो, यदा दध्यादिव्यज्ञन वशेन तत्रात्कूल्यं प्रतिपयते तदशयम् प्रयोगः ॥ But

when not used in this sense, we have सिता पाशेन सूकरी ॥ Moreover, the मास must be the object and not the subject of the verb. Therefore not here: सितो मासे देवदत्तेन ॥

ओदितश्च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओदितः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भोक्तरेतो धातो रुचरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारादेशो भवति ॥

45. The त of Nish्ठाः is changed to न, after a root, which has an indicatory ओ in the Dhātupāṭha.

Thus ओलस्त्री—लग्नः, लग्नवान्, ओदिती—उद्गिनः, उद्गिनवान् ॥ ओप्यायी वृद्धौः—आपीनः, आ पीनवान् ॥

The roots सूडः प्राणिप्रसवे (Div. 24) &c. are considered as ओदित् ॥ Thus, सूनः, सूनवान्; वूडः—वूनः, वूनवान्; सीडः—सीनः, दीनवान्; डीडः—डीनः, डीनवान्; धीडः—धीनः, धीनवान्; मीडः—मीनः, मीनवान्; रीडः—रीनः, रीनवान्, लीडः—लीनः, लीनवान्, व्रीडः—व्रीनः, व्रीनवान् ॥

क्षियो दीर्घात् ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षियः, दीर्घात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षियो धातोर्धीर्घादुचरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारादेशो भवति ॥

46. The त of Nish्ठाः is changed to न, after क्षि, when the root-vowel is lengthened.

Thus क्षीणः छेणः; क्षीणी जात्मः; क्षीणस्तपस्ती ॥ The vowel of क्षि is lengthened by VI. 4. 60 and 61.

Why do we say 'when the vowel is lengthened'? Observe अक्षितमसि मामेषेष्टाः ॥ The word अक्षितं is formed with त्त in the sense of भाव and means 'imperishable'. The Nish्ठाः being added in the sense of पूर्वत्, there is no lengthening of the vowel by VI. 4. 60.

The root क्ष includes the two roots क्षि क्षये and क्षि निवासगत्यैः ॥ As क्षितः कामो मया ॥ See also the commentary of Sāyana on अक्षितो त्तिः सनेत्तिम् वार्जामन्द्रः सहक्षितं ॥ (Rig I. 5. 9).

Obj:—The form क्षियः in the sūtra is the Genitive singular of the root-noun क्षी ending in long ई, and will denote the root क्षी ending in long ई according to the maxim प्रकृतिवद्विकरणं भवति "an imitative name (as क्षी here) is like its original (the root क्षी)". What is then the necessity of employing the word दीर्घात् in the sūtra? For had the root क्षि with short ई been meant, the form would have been क्षेः ॥

Ans.—The dhātu imitative noun though taking इयह् (VI. 4. 77) as in क्षियः, includes the dhātu ending in short ई also, as in sūtra VI. 4. 59, 60 where क्षि ending in short ई is taken.

Q. If a root ending in short vowel may also be indicated by an imitative name, declined with इयह् augment, then why is the root त्तिः exhibited in sūtra I. 3. 19 as जेः instead of जियः i. e. the sūtra ought to have been त्ति परार्थां जियः and not त्ति परार्थां जेः?

Ans. Here the word जि is not used as a dhâtu-imitative word, there is no intention here to denote the verbal idea of the particular act connoted by the root जि; on the contrary, it simply expresses the *mere form* जि ॥

इयो इस्पर्शे ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इयः, अ-स्पर्शे ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ इया उत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्यास्पर्शे नकार आदेशो भवति ॥

47. The Nishṭhā त is changed to न after इये, but not when the Participle denotes 'cold'.

Thus शीनं चृतम्, शीनो मेदः, शीना वसा; but शीतं वर्तते, शीतो वायुः, शीतिषुरकम् ॥ The यु of इया is vocalised to ई by VI. I. 24.

The prohibition applies when the noun is an adjective and means 'cold'; and not when it means a disease. Therefore we have प्रतिशीतः with न change.

The word स्वर्ण is a guna word formed by चम्, and denotes the particular guna or sensation to be sensed through the organ of touch. In this sense it is derived from the root स्पृश् संस्पर्शने ॥ It also denotes a disease, derived from सूक्ष्म उपतापे ॥ There is nothing to show, what स्वर्ण is meant in the sūtra. Explanation is the only refuge here.

अञ्चो उपादाने ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्चः, अन्-उपादाने ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ अञ्चतेरुत्तरपदस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारादेशो भवति न चेदपाशनं तत्र भवति ॥

48. The Nishṭhā त is changed to न, after अञ्च्, but not when it is in connection with an Ablative case.

Thus समक्षौ शक्तनेः पातौ = सहृतौ; तस्मात् पश्चो न्यक्षाः ॥

Why do we say 'when not in construction with an Ablative case'? Observe उदन्कुषुदकं कूपात् = उद्भृतं 'drawn out'.

The word व्यक्तम् is from the root अञ्जु व्यक्तिष्वक्षण कान्तिगतिषु, and not from the root अञ्च्; and hence the Nishṭhā is not changed.

दिवो उविजिगीषायाम् ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवः, अ-उविजिगीषायाम् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ दिव उत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारादेशो भवति उविजिगीषायामर्थे ॥

49. The Nishṭhā त is changed to न, after दिव, when the sense is not that of 'play'.

The word उविजिगीषा means "desire of conquest or gain", but here it means "gambling".

Thus आशूनः = औशरिकः, परिशूनः = क्षीजः ॥ Why do we say "when it does not mean to play"? Observe इद्युतं वर्तते ॥ Here the throwing of dice is with the desire of winning or gaining victory (vijigishā) over the opponent.

निर्वाणो इवाते ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ निर्वाणः, अ-वाते ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ निर्वाण इति निष्ठूर्वाइतेरुत्तरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारो निषाखते । न चेद्वाताधिकरणो वात्ययो भवति ॥

50. The word निर्वाण is irregularly formed by changing the Nish्ठात् to न्, when the sense is not that of 'wind'.

The word निर्वाण is formed from the root वा, with the preposition निर् and the Participial affix त् ॥ Thus निर्वाणोऽग्निः = उपशान्तः, निर्वाणः प्रशीपः, निर्वाणोऽभिष्ठः = उपरतः ॥

Why do we say when not meaning "the wind"? Observe निर्वाणो वातः, निर्वातं वातेन ॥

In the sentences निर्वाणः प्रदीपो वातेन, निर्वाणोऽग्निर्वातेन, the न् change has taken place, because the location of the verb वा is in the प्रदीप and अग्नि, and not in the वात्, which is merely an Instrument. Hence the above वृत्ति uses the words "if the sense of the verb वा does not govern वात् in the locative case".

शुष्पः कः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुष्पः, कः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शुष्पेर्जातोरुचरस्य निष्टातकारस्य ककारादेशो भवति ॥

51. क is substituted for the Nish्ठात् after the root शुष्प् ॥

As शुष्पः, शुष्पवान् ॥

पचो वः ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पचः वः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पचेर्जातोरुचरस्य निष्टातकारस्य वकारादेशो भवति ॥

52. व is substituted for the Nish्ठात् after the root पच् ॥

As पक्वः, पक्ववान् ॥

क्षायो मः ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षायः, मः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षायातोरुचरस्य निष्टातकारस्य मकारादेशो भवति ॥

53. म is substituted for the Nish्ठात् after the root क्षै ॥

Thus क्षामः, क्षामवान् ॥

प्रस्त्योन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रस्त्यः, अन्यत रस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रपूर्वात् स्वायतेरुचरस्य निष्टातकारस्यान्यतरस्याम् मकारादेशो भवति ॥

54. म is optionally substituted for the Nish्ठात्, after the root स्त्वै preceded by प्र ॥

Thus प्रस्तीमः or प्रस्तीतः, प्रस्तीमवान् or प्रस्तीतवान् ॥ In the second alternative when म does not come, we first vocalise the root स्त्वा into स्ती, and then add त् ॥ Had Samprasāraṇa not taken place first, then the Nish्ठात् would have been changed to न् after स्त्वा by VIII. 2. 43. But when samprasāraṇa is

once made, the root no longer has a semi-vowel and so there remains no occasion for the application of VIII. 2. 43. See VI. 1. 23 for vocalisation.

**अनुपसर्गात्कुलक्षीबक्षशोलाघाः ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुपसर्गात्, कुल-क्षीब-क्षश-उल्लाघाः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ कुल क्षीब क्षश उल्लाघ इत्येते निपात्यन्ते न अनुपसर्गात्क्षशा भवन्ति ॥  
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उल्लासंकुलयोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

55. The irregular Participle कुल, क्षीब, क्षश and उल्लाघ are formed then only, when no Preposition precedes them.

The word कुल is derived from the root अफला विशरणे the त् is changed to ल् ॥ The change of अ to उ (VII. 4. 88) and the want of इ॒॒ augment (VII. 2. 16) are regular. The same change takes place before नक्तु also, as कुलवान् ॥

The affix त् is elided after the roots क्षीब्, क्षश् and उल्—लाघ्, and the augment इ॒॒ is prohibited ; this is the irregularity in क्षीबः, क्षशः and उल्लाघः ॥

Why do we say when not preceded by a Preposition ? Observe प्रकृताः सुमनसः, प्रक्षीवितः, प्रकृतिः, प्रोलाधितः ॥ In the case of लाघ्, prepositions other than उल् are prohibited.

Or the augment इ॒॒ is added, and then इ॒॒ is elided from क्षीवितः &c. See VIII. 2. 3 *vārt.*

*Vārt.*—The forms उल्लुङ्गः and संकुलः should be enumerated. Here त् is changed to ल्, though the root has taken a Preposition.

In the word परिकृताः, the word परि is not a Preposition with regard to the verb कृतः; परिगतः कृतः = परिकृतः ॥ So that परि is upasarga of the verb गतः understood, hence we have the form कृतः ॥

**नुदविदोन्द्राग्राहीभ्यो अन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नुद, विद, उन्द, आ, ग्रा, हीभ्यः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ नुद विद उन्द आ ग्रा ही इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य निष्ठात्कारस्य नकार आदेषो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

*Kārikā*—वैत्तेस्तु विदितो निष्ठा विचारेविन्द्र इत्येते ।

वैत्तेविन्द्रम् विचारम् भोगे विन्द्रम् विन्द्रेते ॥

56. The Nishṭhā त् may optionally be changed to न्, after नुद, विद, उन्द, आ, ग्रा, ही ॥

Thus नुनः or नुत्तः, विन्दः or वित्तः, समुनः or समुत्तः, आनः or आतः, ग्रानः or ग्रातः, हीनः or हीतः ॥

With regard to ही, the न् change was not ordained by any rule, and so it is an aprāpta-vibhāshā. With regards to others, the न् change would have always taken place by VIII. 2. 42 and 43, this makes it optional.

The root विद विचारणे of Rudhādi is to be taken here, and not the other विद roots. Thus the following : *Kārikā*

The Nishṭhā of विद्—वेत्ति of Adādi class is विदितः ; (2) of विद्—विद्यते of Divādi class is विद्रः only ; (3) of विद् of Tudādi is विनः ; (4) of विद् of Rudhādi are both वितः and विनः ॥ The Tudādi विद् has also the form वितः in the sense of भोग by VIII. 2. 58.

न ध्यात्य्यापूर्मुच्छमदाम् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, ध्या, ख्या, पृ, मूर्छि, मदाम् ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ ध्या ख्या पृ मूर्छि मद इत्येतेवां निष्ठातकारस्य नकारादेशो न भवति ॥

57. The Nishṭhā त is not changed to न after ध्या, ख्या, पृ, मूर्छि and मद ॥

Thus ध्यातः, ध्यातवान्, ख्यातः, ख्यातवान्, पूर्चः, पूर्त्तवान्, मूर्छः, मूर्छवान्, मतः, मतवान् ॥

This debars the न change prescribed by VIII. 2. 42, 43.

The root मूर्छि is exhibited in the sūtra in its lengthened form ; the root उच्छ्र॒ is lengthened by VIII. 2. 78, and the छ्व is elided before त by VI. 4. 21.

वित्तो भोगप्रत्यययोः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वित्तः, भोग, प्रत्यययोः ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ वित्त इति विवेलभार्यादुन्नरस्य नस्य नस्वाभावो निपात्यते भोगे प्रत्यये चाभिधेये ॥

58. The irregularly formed Participle वित्त denotes 'possessions' and 'renowned'.

This is derived from विद्वत् लाभे of Tudādi class, the त is not changed to न though so required by VIII. 2. 42.

Thus वित्तमस्य बहु=धनमस्य बहु 'he has much riches'. Because riches are enjoyed (भुज्यते), so they are called भोग or 'enjoyments' *par excellence*.

In the sense of 'renowned', we have वित्तोऽयं मनुष्यः "this man is renowned or famous". Here वित्तः=प्रतीतः ॥ प्रतीतये=प्रत्ययः ॥

Why do we say when having the sense of 'possessions' and 'famous'? Observe वित्तः ॥

भित्तं शकलम् ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ भित्तम्, शकलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भित्तमिति निपात्यते शकलं चेत्तद्वति ॥

59. The word भित्त is irregularly formed in the sense of 'a fragment, a portion'.

Thus भित्तं तिष्ठति, भित्तं प्रपत्ति ॥ This is synonymous with शकल ॥ The root-meaning of भित्ति is not very manifest in this word, it may be taken as a *rudhi* word. The regular form is भिन्नं under VIII. 2. 42.

ऋणमाधमण्ये ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋणम्, आधमण्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋणमिति ऋद्यतस्माद्वातोरुचरस्य निष्ठातकारस्य नकारो निपात्यते आधमण्यविषये ॥

60. The word ऋण is irregularly formed in the sense of 'debt.'

It is derived from ऋ, the त is changed to न ॥ The word अधमण्य is compounded from अधम ऋणे "he who in a debt transaction holds a lower position"—

i.e. a debtor. This nipātana shows that such irregular Locative compounds may be formed; for here the first member is *not* in the Locative case, but the second member. The condition of being a debtor is आधमर्यम् or "indebtedness;"

If this is so, then the word उच्चमर्जः 'creditor' cannot be formed? This is no valid objection. For अधमर्जः is illustrative only of something to be paid hereafter, in consideration of something formerly received; and thus includes उच्चमर्जः also; which also has been so employed by the author himself in धारेहस्तमर्जः (I. 4. 35).

The word उच्च we use in sentences like उच्चं इवाति, उच्चं धारयति ||

Why do we say when meaning 'debt'? Observe उच्चं वक्ष्यामि, नानृतम् ||

न सत्त्वनिषत्तानुच्चप्रतूर्त्सूर्त्गूर्त्तानि छन्दसि || ६१ || पदानि || न सत्त्व, निषत्त,  
अनुच्च, प्रतूर्त्स, सूर्त्स, गूर्त्तानि, छन्दसि ||

बृत्तिः || न सत्त्व निषत्त अनुच्च प्रतूर्त्सूर्त्गूर्त्त इत्येतानि छन्दसि विषये निपात्यन्ते ||

61. In the Chhandas we have the following irregular Participles:—nasatta, nishatta, anutta, pratūrtta, sūrtta, gūrtta.

The words न सत्त्व and निषत्त are derived from the root सद् preceded by न and नि, and there is not the न change of VIII. 2. 42. Thus न सत्त्वमज्जसा || In secular literature we have न सत्त्वम् || So also निषत्तः in the Vedas, but निषणः in secular literature. The word अनुच्चः is from उच्च with the negative अन् || The option of VIII. 2. 56 does not apply here. As अनुच्चमा ते मधवन् (= अनुलभ्) || प्रतूर्त्सूर्त्स् is from व्युत् or व्युर्व, as प्रतूर्त्सूर्त्याजिनम् (= प्रतूर्त्यम्) || When it is derived from व्युत् then ऊट् is added by VI. 4. 20; and when from व्युर्व then VI. 4. 21 is applied. सूर्त्ता is from सूर्, the उट् is changed to उ irregularly, as सूर्त्तागावः = सूतागावः || गूर्त्ता is from गूर्, as गूर्त्ता अगृतम्य (= गृणी) ||

क्रिन्प्रत्ययस्य कुः || ६२ || पदानि || किन्, प्रत्ययस्य, कुः ||

बृत्तिः || पदस्यति वर्त्तते । क्रिन्प्रत्ययस्य सर्वत्र पशन्ते कुत्तमिष्यते । क्रिन्प्रत्ययो यस्माद्भातोः स क्रिन्प्रत्ययः, सत्य पदस्यालोन्त्यस्य कवर्गादेशो भवति ॥

62. A stem formed with the affix किन् under III. 2. 58 &c, substitutes, at the end of a word, a guttural for the final consonant.

The word पदस्य is understood here. The word क्रिन्प्रत्यय is a Bahuvrihi meaning 'that stem which has kvin as its affix.' For the final consonant of such a stem, a guttural is substituted. As घृतस्पृक् (III. 2. 58), हलस्पृक्, मन्वस्पृक् ||

The sūtra could have been क्रिन् कुः; the word प्रत्यय is used in the sūtra to show the Bahuvrihi compound; so that the उ of क्रिन् may not be changed to a guttural. Moreover this Bahuvrihi also indicates that the roots which take the क्रिन् affix, change their final to a guttural before other affixes than क्रिन् ||

Thus the roots सूज् and दृश् take क्रिन् to form सूक् and दृक् nouns by III. 2. 59, 60. The guttural change will take place even when these roots are declined as verbs: as, मानो अस्त्राक् मानो अद्राक्, where अस्त्राक् and अद्राक् are the Aorist of सूज् and दृश् ॥ The augment अ॒ is not elided, though the मा is added ( VI. 4. 75 ) as a Vedic diversity. The ई॑ augment also does not take place as a Vedic irregularity. The augment अ॒॒ is added by VI. 1. 58, and the vowel is lengthened by Vṛiddhi by VII. 2. 3. Thus अ॒॒+सूज्+सिज्+तिष्=अस्त्र॒॒ ( VI. 1. 58 ) = अस्त्राक् ( VII. 2. 3 and VIII. 2. 62 ). Other wise it would have been ष by VIII. 2. 36. So also in दृग्मीयं, दृग्मि॒, the श् is changed to a guttural, though the noun दृश् is a क्रिए॒ formed noun and not formed by क्रिन् ; and this is so, because the verb दृश् does take क्रिन् also.

Obj. If this be so, there ought to be guttural change in रज्जुसूडम्यां from the root सूज् with क्रिप्? Ans. The guttural change however in not desired here.

In gutturalisation, ज् is changed to ग, and श् to ख, which both become क् by वाचसाते ( VIII. 4. 56 )

**नशेवा॑ ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि॑ ॥ नशोः॒, वा॑ ॥**

वृत्तिः॑ ॥ पदस्येति॑ वर्तते॑ ॥ नशोः॒ पदस्य॑ वा॑ कवर्गादेशो॑ भवति॑ ॥

63. The final of नश् at the end of a word is optionally changed to a guttural.

The word पदस्य is understood here also. As सा॑ वै॒ जीवनडाहुतिः ( Maitr. S. I. 4. 13 ) : or सा॑ वै॒ जीवनगाहुतिः ॥ According to Pro. Bohtlingk this latter form is not found in the Samhitā.

Here the root नश् has taken क्रिप् in denoting 'condition or state'; by considering it as belonging to संपशादि class.

जीवस्य॑ नाशः॑ = जीवनक्॑ or जीवनद्॑ ॥ The gutturalisation optionally debars the ष change of VIII. 2. 36. When the ष change takes place, this ष is changed to द् by VIII. 2. 39 and VIII. 4. 56.

**मोनो॑ धातोः॑ ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि॑ ॥ मः॑, नः॑, धातोः॑ ॥**

वृत्तिः॑ ॥ मकारान्तस्य॑ धातोः॑ पदस्य॑ नकारोदेशो॑ भवति॑ ॥

वार्तिकम्॑ ॥ अनुनासिकस्य॑ क्रिप्लोः॑ क्रितीतिशीर्थत्वम्॑ ॥

64. न् is substituted, at the end of a word, for the final म् of a root.

As प्रशान्, प्रतान्, प्रदान् ॥ These are formed by adding क्रिप् to the roots शम्, तम् and इम् ॥ The lengthening takes place by VI. 4. 15. The न् being considered as asiddha is not elided.

Why do we say "of म्-ending roots"? Observe भित्, छित् ॥

Why do we say "of a root"? Observe इवम्, किम् ॥

The word पद्यस्य is understood here also. So we have प्रतामौ, प्रतामः where म is not at the end of a word.

**म्वोच्च ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ म्, वोः, च ॥**  
वृत्तिः ॥ मकारवकारयोश्च परतः मकारान्तस्य धातोर्नेकारादेशो भवति ॥

65. न is substituted for the म of a root before the affixes beginning with म and च ॥

As अगन्म, अगन्व the Imperfect of गम्, as in the sentence अगन्म तमसः पारम् ॥ The शप् is elided as a Vedic diversity. So also जगन्वान् with कवसु, the augment इट् is not added by the option allowed, owing to VII. 1. 68. This sūtra applies to those cases where the म is not at the end of a word, as it was in the last sūtra.

**ससज्जुषो रुः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्, सज्जुषोः, रुः ॥**  
वृत्तिः ॥ सकारान्तस्य पदस्य सज्जुष् इलंतस्य च रूभवति ॥

66. For the final स् and for the च् of सज्जुष् is substituted रु, at the end of a word.

Thus अविनरच, वायुरत्र ॥ So also सज्जुर्क्षिभिः, सज्जुर्वेभिः ॥ सज्जुष् is derived from जुष् with the affix क्षिप् and the preposition सह which is changed to स in Bahuvrihi. The lengthening takes place by VIII. 2. 76. and the word means सप्रीतिः ॥ The रु is ई, but it should be distinguished from it. This secondary ई (or रु) undergoes a distinct and separate Sandhi change from that of the primary ई ॥

**अवया: श्वेतवा: पुरोडाश्च ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवया:, श्वेतवा:, पुरोडाः, च ॥**  
वृत्तिः ॥ अवया: श्वेतवा: पुरोडाः इत्येते निपात्यन्ते ॥

67. The same substitution takes place for the final of the Nominatives of अवया:, श्वेतवा: and पुरोडाः ॥

The word अवया: is from अव + यज्; श्वेतवा: from श्वेत + वह् and पुरोडाः from पुरस् + दाश् ॥ The affix ण्वन् is added to the two latter by III. 2. 71. The word अवयाज् is also formed by ण्वन् (III. 2. 72). Thus the three words श्वेतवाह्, पुरोडाश् and अवयाज् are formed. These words take the affix इस् before the Pada-terminations (See Vārtika to III. 2. 71). After having taken इस्, the above forms अवया:, &c., are made in Nominative singular irregularly.

Why is this nipātana, when रु would have come by the last sūtra and the lengthening would have taken place by VI. 4. 14, of the words अवयस्, श्वेत-चस् and पुरोडस्? They are so exhibited here, for making them long in the Vocative singular also. For they could not have been lengthened in the Vocative singular, because VI. 4. 14 does not apply to it. Thus हे अवया:, हे श्वेतवा:, हे पुरोडाः ॥

The word च shows that other forms, not enumerated, may also be included here under. As हे उक्तयथाः ॥

**अहन् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहन् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अहन्त्रिव्येतस्य पदस्य रूभेवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अहो रुविधौ रूपरात्रिरथन्तेरप्संख्यानं कर्तव्यम् ॥

68. रु is also substituted for the न् of अहन् at the end of a Pada.

Thus अहोभ्याम्, अहोभिः ॥ The sūtra exhibits the form अहन् without the elision of न्, in order to indicate that there is not elision of न् ॥ As वीर्धाहो, निशाधः, हे वीर्धाहोऽत्रेति ॥ See Vārtika to VIII. 2. 7. The न् of अहन् is not changed to र् in the sūtra by VIII. 2. 69, because it is intended to show the word-form अहन् ॥ The Nominal stem is Pada in the above examples by I. 4. 17.

*Vārti*—Before the words रूप, रात्रि and रथन्तर, the न् of अहन् is changed to र् ॥ As अहोरूपम्, अहोरात्रः, अहोरथन्तरं साम् ॥ This is an exception to VIII. 2. 69. Others say, that this र् change takes place *universally* before all words beginning with र्; as अहो रम्यम्, अहो रत्नानि ॥

**रोऽसुषि ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ रः, अ-सुषि ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अहन्त्रिव्येतस्य रेफादेशो भवत्यसुषि परतः ॥

69. When no case-ending follows (i. e. at the end of a Pada in the narrower sense), र् is substituted for the न् of अहन् ॥

Thus अहर्द्वाति, अहर्भुद्गन्ते ॥ Why do we say 'when no case-ending follows'? Observe अहोभ्याम्, अहोभिः ॥ Here रु-called र् replaced the final न् of अहन् ॥ The difference between this रु-called र् and the ordinary र् is illustrated in the above set of examples. The रु-called र् is changed to र् by VI. 1. 113, the ordinary र् is not so changed.

Obj. In अहर्द्वाति and अहर्भुद्गन्ते the case-ending is elided after अहन्, and so by Pratyaya - lakṣhaṇa, we may say that there is a case-ending here also? Ans. This is not so, because of the following maxim अहो रुविधौ लुमता लुप्ते प्रत्ययलक्षणं न भवति ॥ The rule of pratyaya lakṣhaṇa does not apply to the substitution of र् for the final of अहन् when the affix has been elided by लुक् or लुप्. Therefore, this अहन् is not considered to be followed by लुप् or case-affix. But where an affix is elided by using the word लोप, there the rule of Pratyaya - lakṣhaṇa does apply to अहन् ॥ As हे वीर्धाहोऽत्र, हे वीर्धाहो निशाध. (VIII. 2. 7). Here the affix is elided by using the word 'lopa' by VI. 1. 68.

**अम्बरुधरवरित्युभयथा छन्दसि ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अम्बस्, ऊधस्, अवस्, इति उभयथा, छन्दसि ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अम्बस् ऊधस् अवस् इत्येतत्पां छन्दसि विषये उभयथा भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसि भाषायां च विभाषा प्रचेतसोराजन्युपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥  
वा० ॥ अहरादीनां पत्यादिष्पुष्पसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

70. In the Chhandas, both रु and रं are substituted for the final of amnas, उलhas, and avas.

Thus अभ्र एव or अभ्रेव, अध्र एव or अध्रेव; अव एव or अवरेव ॥ When रु is substituted for the finals, this रु is replaced by य by VIII. 3. 17, which is elided by VIII. 3. 19. The word अभ्रस् means 'a little', and अवस् 'protection'.

*Vart* :—रु and रं both replace the final of प्रचेतस् before राजन्, in the Vedic as well as in the secular language. As प्रचेता राजन् (VIII. 3. 14, VI. 3. 111) प्रचेतो रा राजन् ॥

*Vart* :—The words अहर् &c before पति &c should be enumerated. That is, the finals of अहर् &c are replaced by रु or रं before पति &c. As. अर्हपतिः or अहर्पतिः or अहः पतिः; अहर्पुत्रः, अहः पुत्रः, गीर्पतिः, गीः पति, गी × पतिः; धूर्पति, धूः पतिः, धू × पतिः ॥ Here रं is substituted for the final रु of अहर् &c, which at first sight may appear superfluous. But it is so ordained, in order to prevent the visarga change of this रं ॥

भुवश्च महाब्याहृतेः ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, चः, महाब्याहृतेः ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ भुवस् इत्येतस्य महाब्याहृतेऽछन्दसि विषये उभयथा भवति ॥

71. In the Chhandas, रु and रं may replace the final of the word भुवस् when used as a mahâ-vyâhriti.

Thus भुवस्त्वित्तरिक्षम् or भुव इत्यन्तरिक्षम् ॥ The mahâ-vyâhritis are three, used generally before the famous Gâyatri mantra. They denote respectively the earth, the firmament and the heaven. भुवस् is an Indeclinable and a Vyâhriti denoting the firmament. The other two are भुः and स्वः ॥

Why do we say when it is a mahâ-vyâhriti ? Observe भुवो विष्वेतु भुवनेतु वाज्ञियः ॥ Here भुवः is a verb, 2nd Pers. Singular, Imperfect (लह) of the root भु, without guṇa of the root, and the अ॒ augment is not added as a Vedic diversity.

वसुस्तुध्वंस्वनडुहां दः ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वसु, स्तुसु, ध्वंसु, अनडुहाम्, दः ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तज्ञोरुरित्यतः स इति वर्तते । वस्वन्तस्य पदस्य सकारान्तस्य स्तुध्वंसु अनडुह इत्येतेषां च  
दकारोऽशा भवति ॥

72. दः is substituted for the final स् of a word ending in the affix वस्, and for the final of स्तुस्, ध्वंस् and अनडुह at the end of a Pada (in the wider sense I. 4. 14, 17).

The anuvṛitti of स् is understood here from VIII. 2. 66. It qualifies वस् only, and not the rest. That is, when the word formed by the affix वस् ends with स्, such स् is replaced by दः ॥ For a word formed by वस् does not

sometimes end in स्, and in those cases the rule will not apply. As संस् and धंस् always end in स्, there is no necessity of qualifying these by the स् of VIII. 2. 66. अनङ्गुह ends in ह् and so स् cannot qualify it.

Thus विद्वद्याम्, विद्वद्भिः, पविवद्याम्, पविवद्भिः with वस् affix. संस्—उखासद्-भ्याम्, उखासद्भिः ॥ (VII. 1.70 and III. 2. 36). धंस्—पर्णधवद्याम्, पर्णधवद्भिः ॥ अनङ्गुह—अनङ्गुहभ्याम्, अनङ्गुहभिः ॥

But when a वस् formed word does not end in स्, the rule does not apply. As विद्वान्, पविवान् ॥ Here न् is not changed to ह् ॥

In the case of वस्, the ह् is ordained, before any other rule manifests itself; thus in विद्वद्यां this ह् debars रु; so why should it not debar the rule relating to the elision of the final in विद्वान् also? This rule sets aside रु, but it does not, however, over-rule the elision-rule, because it is not directly connected with this change.

Why in अनङ्गुह the न् is not changed to ह्? By the very fact, that तुम् is ordained (विधान-सामर्थ्यात्), this न् will not be changed to ह्: otherwise तुम् rule would become superfluous; for it would be easier to say let ह् be changed to ह्, and we should get the form अनङ्गुह् by this rule without तुम् ॥

*Obj:*—If this be so, that the तुम् is not changed to ह्, because of giving it a scope, then in अनङ्गुह् अच, this तुम् should not be changed into ह् by VIII. 3. 9?

*Ans:*—No; the maxim is that that rule is set aside, with regard to which a particular rule would become useless, if not so over-ruled: but that rule is not set aside which is only an occasion for the application of another rule (यं विविधं प्रति उपदेशोऽनर्थकः, सविधिर्विध्यते, यस्य तु विधे निर्मित्वमेव नासौ वाध्यते) ॥ With regard to ह् change, the तुम् vidhi is *useless* (anarthaka), with regard to ह् change, it is merely an occasion.

The word पदस्य is understood here also, so the change does not take place in विद्वासौ and विद्वांसः ॥

तिप्यनस्तेः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिपि, अन्-अस्तेः ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ तिपि परतः सकारान्तस्य पदस्य अनस्तेऽर्कार अविद्शो भवति ॥

73. ह् is substituted for the final स् of a root, with the exception of अस्, before the Personal ending ति (त्), when it stands at the end of a word.

The स् of a root can stand at the end of a word when the Personal-ending is dropped. Thus अचकाह् भवान्, अन्वशाह् भवान्, from the roots चकास् and शास् ॥ The Personal affix is elided by VI. 1. 68, and thereby स् comes to stand at the end of a Pada.

Why do we say ‘before तिप्’? Observe चकास् formed by क्विप् affix added to the root.

Why do we say 'with the exception of अस्'? See आप एवेदं सलिलं सर्वम् आः ॥ Here आः is the Imperfect 3rd Person singular of अस् ॥ The ईद् is not added as a Vedic irregularity. See VII. 3. 93, 97.

सिपि धातो रुर्वा ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिपि, धातोः, रुः, वाः ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ सिपि परतः सकारान्तस्य पदस्य धातो रुः इत्ययमादेशो भवति दकारो वा ॥

74. द् or रु may optionally be substituted for the स् of a root, before the Personal ending सि (स्), when such स् stands at the end of a Pada.

Thus अचकास् त्वम् or अचकात् त्वम्, अन्वशास् त्वम् or अन्वशात् त्वम् ॥ For the रु is first substituted visarjaniya, which is then changed to स् ॥

The word धातुः is employed in the sūtra for the sake of the subsequent sūtras: so also the word रु ॥

दश्च ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इकारान्तस्य धातोः पदस्य सिपि परतो रुर्वति दकारो वा ॥

75. द् or रु may optionally be substituted for the final द् of a root, before the Personal-affix सि, when such द् stands at the end of a Pada.

Thus अभिनत् त्वम् or अभिनस् त्वम्, अच्छिनत् त्वम् or अच्छिनस् त्वम् ॥

र्वोरुपधाया दीर्घ इकः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ र्वोः, उपधायाः, दीर्घः, इकः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेकवकारान्तस्य धातोः पदस्य उपधाया इको दीर्घो भवति ॥

76. A penultimate ई or उ is lengthened, when the final रु or च् of a root can stand at the end of a Pada.

Thus गीः, धूः, पूः, आर्षीः ॥ These are all examples of roots ending in ई ॥ Of roots ending in च्, examples will be given in the next sūtra.

Why have we used the word 'penultimate'? Observe अविभर् भवान्, here the ई of the reduplicative syllable is not to be lengthened.

Why do we say 'of इक् vowels'? So that the अ of भ in the above example अविभर् may not be lengthened.

The word धातोः 'of a root' is understood here also. Therefore ई and उ are not lengthened in अग्निः, वायुः ॥

The word पदस्य is understood here also, therefore, not here, गिरौ, गिरः ॥

हलि च ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलि च परतः रेकवकारान्तस्य धातोरुपधाया इको दीर्घो भवति ॥

77. Of a root ending in रु or च्, the penultimate ई or उ is lengthened, before a consonantal beginning affix.

Thus आस्तीर्णम्, विस्तीर्णम्, विक्षीर्णम्, अवगूर्णम्, all ending in रु ॥ So also, हीव्यति, सीव्यति ending in च् ॥

The phrase "of the root", is understood here also. Therefore not here, दिव्यति and चतुर्यति, which are derived from the nouns दिव् and चतुर् i. e. दिव्-निष्ठति = दिव्यति; and चतुर् इच्छति = चतुर्यति ॥

The phrase इकः "of the vowels इ or उ" is understood here also. Therefore not here, सर्वते, भव्यम् ॥

This rule applies to cases which are not final in a pada : but to cases where इ or उ are in the middle of a pada or word.

**उपधायां च ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपधायाम्, च ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोरुपधाभूतौ यौ रेफवकारौ हल्परौ तयोरुपधाया इको दीर्घौ भवति ॥

78. The short इ or उ of a root is lengthened, when the verb has र् or ल् as its penultimate letter, and is followed by a consonant.

The anuvṛitti of हलि is current. The root must end in a consonant, and must have a इ or उ as preceding such consonant, for the application of this rule. Thus हूर्णा, हूर्णिता, मूर्णा, मूर्णिता, तूर्णी, तूर्णिता, धूर्णी, धूर्णिता ॥

The इ or उ must be followed by a consonant. Therefore not here: as, चिरि, जिरि are roots having a penultimate इ, which however is followed by a vowel. Therefore we have चिरिणोति, जिरिणोति ॥

Q.—Why there is not lengthening in रियतुः, रियुः or विव्यतुः, विव्युः Perfect forms derived from the roots रि गतौ and वी गतौ &c? Here the इ of the abhyāsa required lengthening, and it would not be shortened, as it is asiddha.

*Ans.*—The यण् substitute of इ here by VI. 4. 82, is treated as sthāni-vat, to इ, and therefore, the इ or उ is considered as *not* to be followed by a consonant, and hence there is no lengthening. Another reason is, that the यण् substitute is taught in angādhikāra (VI. 4. 82), and depends upon the affix, and is consequently Bahiranga, with regard to this rule of lengthening which is antaranga. Hence यणदिशः is considered as asiddha. Therefore इ and उ are not followed by a consonant (for य is not considered as such for the above reasons).

Similarly in चतुर्यितु formed with तच् affix from the Denominative (क्यच्) root चतुर्य ॥ Here इर् is added before तच् as चतुर्य+इ+त् and then अ is elided, चतुर्य+इ+त् ॥ Here the elision of अ is a Bahiranga process, and therefore, इ is not here really penultimate, and so there is no lengthening of the vowel.

In प्रतिवीना (Instrumental singular) there is lengthening by VIII. 2. 77. To the root प्रति-दिव् is added कनिन् by Uṇ I. 156, and we have प्रतिविवन् ॥ To this is added आ (Instrumental affix), as प्रतिविवन्+आ, and अ is elided by VI. 4. 134, and we get प्रतिवीना ॥ The lengthening takes place here, the elision of अ is not considered here as sthāni-vat, and so इ becomes penultimate. In fact,

here we apply the maxim that a lopa substitute of a vowel is not to be considered as sthānivat when a rule of lengthening is to be applied (See I. 1. 58).

*Q.*—Well, let it not be sthānivat, but the elision by VI. 4. 134, depends upon a case-affix, and is Bahiranga, and therefore asiddha for the purposes of this rule which is antaranga: and so therefore, there would be no lengthening?

*Ans.*—The maxim of असिद्ध बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्ग should not be applied here: because it is an *anitya* rule.

The word जित्रिः is formed by the Uṇādi affix किन् added to the root शू (जिर्), the ई being changed to ए (Uṇ V. 49). So also किरिः and गिरिः are formed by the Uṇādi affix कि added to शू and गृ (Uṇ IV. 143). The Genitive Dual of which is किर्योः and गिर्योः. There is no lengthening in जित्रिः, किर्योः and गिर्योः, on the maxim that the Uṇādi formed words are primitive words and not Derivative; and so the rules of etymological changes do not apply to them (उणादयोऽव्युत्पन्नानि प्रतिपदिकानि) ||

न भकुर्छुराम् ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, भ, कुर्, छुराम् ॥

बृन्तः ॥ रेफवकारान्तस्य भस्य कुर् छुर् इत्यतयोश्च दीर्घे न भवति ॥

79. The lengthening of vowel does not take place under VIII. 2. 77, when the Nominal stem ending in र् or व् is called Bha (i. e. when a य follows), and also not in कुर् and छुर् ॥

Thus धुर्यः (धुर् वहति IV. 4. 77 or धुरि साधुः) || Similarly कुर्यात्, छुर्यात् ॥ The latter is Benedictive of छुर् छेहन् ॥

Why have we qualified the word भ by saying that it must end in र् or व्? Observe प्रतिशीला, प्रतिदीपे ॥ For here the stem which ends in शू is not Bha, and the stem which is Bha does not end in व् but in न् ॥

अदसोऽसेदादुदो मः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ अदसः, अ-सेः, दात्, उ, दः, मः ॥  
बृन्तः ॥ अदसोऽसकारान्तस्य वर्णस्य शावरस्य उवर्णादेशो मवति इकारस्य च मकारः ॥  
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अदसोऽनोंम इति वन्त्कन्यम् ॥

Kārikā:—अदसोद्वे पृथङ् मुर्वं के चिदिच्छन्ति लववत् ।  
के चिदन्तसंदेशस्य नेत्रेके ऽसेहि दृष्ट्वे ॥

80. When the pronoun अदस् does not end in स्, then there is substituted उ or ऊ for the vowel after द्, and म् for द् ॥

Thus अमूम्, अमू॒, अमू॒र्, अमूना, अमूभ्याम्, ॥ अद् is substituted for अदस् before a case-ending by VII. 2. 102, which in Feminine becomes अदा ॥ By the

present sūtra read with I. i. 50, अम् is substituted for अद् and अम् for अदा ॥ The ए which replaces one-mātrā vowel will be one-mātrā ए i. e. short ए, and the ओ which replaces a two-mātrā vowel will be a two-mātrā ओ i. e. long ओ ॥ See I. i. 50.

Why do we say, "not ending in स"? Observe अद् इच्छति=अदस्याति ॥ Obj. How can this be a valid example, as the word पदस्य is understood here, and अदस् before the affix व्य is not a pada (I. 4. 15)? Ans. This indicates that the म् change takes place, even when अदस् is not a pada. As अमुष्य ॥

*Vart:*—It should rather be stated that the rule applies to that अदस् which has no ओ, or स or इ ॥ So that the prohibition may apply to अदोऽन्, अदः कुलम् ॥ The visarjaniya being considered as asiddha, this word is considered as ending in इ ॥

In order to apply the prohibition to ओ and इ also, some explain the sūtra thus :—अः सर्वस्य सोयमासिः, व्य सकारस्य अकारः क्रियते ॥ "The word असिः in the sūtra is a Bahuvrīhi, and means that in which अ is substituted for स" ॥ The sūtra is thus confined to the form अद् derived by changing the स् into अ by VII 2. 102: and not to any other अद् ॥

When अदस् takes the final-substitute अद्रि by VI. 3. 92, how is this rule to be applied? Thus by III. 2. 59, the root अ चू makes क्लिन् ॥ We compound it with अदस्, as अदाऽज्ञाति ॥ अदस्+अञ्ज्ञ+क्लिन्=अद्+अद्रि+अञ्ज्ञ+क्लिन् (VI. 3. 92)=अदद्रपञ्च (VI. 4. 24). Now there are three views, (1) the ए of अद्, and इ of अद्रि are both changed to म् by the present sūtra; (2), the first ए is not changed, but only इ; (3) none is changed. Thus we have (1) अमुष्यह् (VII. 1. 70, VI. 1. 68, VIII. 2. 23 and 62), अमुष्यञ्चौ, अमुष्यञ्चः ॥ (2) Secondly, अमुष्यह् अदमुष्यञ्चौ, अमुष्यञ्चः ॥ (3) Lastly अदद्रपञ्च, अदद्रपञ्चौ, अदद्रपञ्चः ॥ The above verse summarises this:

"Some ordain that म् should come separately for both adas and adri, as there is double ल (in चलीकलप्यते); others would have म् only for the last portion which stands in proximity to the final, (i. e. for इ); while a third class would have nowhere, because they explain असेः of the sūtra, by confining it to: VII. 2. 102." The first class interpret असेः by "that form of अदस् which has no स्"; and they do not apply the maxim अनन्यविकरित्यसदेशस्य कायं भवति "when a modification is ordained with regard to some thing which is not final, the operation takes place on that only which is in proximity to the final." The second class apply this maxim and make म् change only for इ which stands in proximity to the final; while the last class interpret the word असेः in a different way altogether (अः अस्य सकारस्य सोऽव्य असिः) ॥

Why do we say शात् 'for the vowel after ए'? Observe अमुया, अमुयेः, the final ए as not changed to इ ॥

एत ईद्वहुवचने ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ एतः ईत्, बहुवचने ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ अदसो एकारादुत्तरस्य एकारस्य ईकारादेशो भवति एकारस्य च मकारः बहुवचने बहूनामर्याना-  
मुक्तौ ॥

81. For the ए coming after the द् of अदस्, there is substituted ई, and द् is changed to म्, when plurality is to be expressed.

Thus अमी for अदे (or अते) अमीभिः for अदेभिः, अमीभ्यः for अदेभ्यः, अमीषाम् for अदेषाम्, अमीषु for अदेषु ॥ द् is changed to त् in अते &c.

The word बहुवचने in the sūtra does not mean the technical बहुवचन ; for that would have made the sūtra have this sense “when the affixes of the Plural number follow”. In that case, we could not get the form अमी where no plural affix follows. Hence we have translated it, by saying when plurality is to be denoted.

वाक्यस्य टेः प्लुत उदात्तः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाक्यस्य, टेः, प्लुतः, उदात्तः ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ वाक्यस्य टेरिति प्लुत इति च उदात्त इति च एतत्रयमन्यधिकृतं वेदितव्यमापादपरिसमाप्ते, यदित  
कर्त्त्वमनुक्रमिष्यामो वाक्यस्य टेः प्लुत उदात्त इत्येवं तदेवितन्यम् ॥

82. Upto the close of this chapter (Pâda), is always to be supplied : “the last vowel of a sentence is plutâ and has the acute”.

This is an adhikâra sûtra. All the three words i. e. “the last vowel (टि) of a sentence”, “pluta” and “acute”—are to be supplied in the subsequent aphorisms to complete the sense, upto the end of this Pâda. Whatever we shall treat hereafter will refer to the final vowel (टि) in a sentence, and it will get the plutâ lengthening and acute accent. Thus VIII. 2. 83, says “In answer to a salutation, but not when it is addressed to a Sûdra”. We must supply the present aphorism to complete the meaning :—“In answer to a salutation, the last vowel of a sentence becomes plutâ and gets the acute accent, but not when it is addressed to a Sûdra”. As अभिवादये देवदत्तोऽहं । भौ आयुष्मानेऽधि देवदत्तौ ३ ॥

One adhikâra sets aside another adhikâra, this is the general maxim. Will therefore the adhikâra of the present aphorism set aside the adhikâra of the word पदस्य (VIII. 1. 16)? No, the adhikâra of पदस्य has not ceased, though latent. Otherwise in भवन्तौ &c. the न् would be required to be changed to ह् by VIII. 3. 7. But it does not become so, because पदस्य manifests itself there.

The employment of the word “vâkya” would not debar the anuvrîtti of पद्, for the final vowel of a sentence, will *a fortiori* be the final vowel of a word (pada), then what is the use of employing the word वाक्यस्य in this sûtra?

The word वाक्य is employed in the sūtra, so that a word which is not the last word of a sentence, will not get the plutā and acute. Had the sūtra been पस्य देः &c. then all the words of a sentence would become plutā and acute in the final.

The word दि is employed to indicate that the final vowel becomes plutā and acute, though the word may end in a consonant. As अग्निचिह्नत् ॥ Had दि not been used, the rule would have applied to words ending in vowels only, and not to words ending in consonants.

**प्रत्यभिवादे इशुद्दे ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रत्यभिवादे, अ-शुद्दे ॥**

वृचिः ॥ प्रत्यभिवादे नाम यद्वाभिवाद्यमानो गुरुशिरं प्रयुडन्ते । तत्राशूद्रविषये यद्वाक्यं वर्तते स्थैर्ये एः प्लुत दवात्तो भवति ॥

वार्तिकष ॥ खियामपि प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ असूयकेऽपि केचित् प्रतिषेधामिच्छन्ति ॥

इष्टिः ॥ अभिवाइवाक्ये यत् संकीर्तितं नाम गोचं वा तद् यत् प्रत्यभिवाद वाक्यान्ते प्रयुज्यते तत्प्लुत इष्यते ॥ वा० ॥ भोराजन्य विदां वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

83. In answer to a salutation, but not when it refers to a Śūdra, the last vowel of a sentence becomes plutā and gets the acute accent.

The word अभिवादन means "respectful salutation of a superior or elder by an inferior or junior for the sake of obtaining his blessing. It consists of three acts 1. rising from the seat, 2. touching of the feet, 3. the uttering of the formula of salutation". The word प्रत्यभिवादन means, the blessing given by the superior or elder in answer to such salutation. In giving utterance to such blessing, the last vowel of the final word gets udātta and acute, provided that, such blessing is not pronounced on a Śūdra.

Thus अभिवादये देवदण्डः is said by Devadatta to his Guru. The latter says भो आयुष्मान् एधि देवदत्तौ ३ ॥ "O Devadatta! be thou long-lived".

Why do we say when not referring to a Śūdra? Observe अभिवादये तुषज-कोऽहं is said by a Śūdra. In reply to this the Guru replies भो आयुष्मान् एधि तुषजक!

**Vārt:**—Prohibition must be stated with regard to women also. As अभिवादये गार्ग्यहं is said by Gārgī. To this the Guru replies:—भो आयुष्मती भवगार्गि ॥

**Vārt:**—Some would have this prohibition where a detractor or an arrogant person is addressed. So long as one's arrogance or ridicule does not become manifest, there is prolation. But when one comes to know that he is my detractor, and is really ridiculing me by a show of respect; then the reply is not a blessing, but is, in fact, a curse. Thus अभिवादये स्थात्यहं भोः, is uttered by the detractor; and the Guru understanding the word Sthālin to be the Proper Name of the person, replies आयुष्मान् एधि स्थालिन् ३ ॥ Then the

detractor says, Sthālin is not my Proper Name, but an adjective, like daṇḍin, viz. he who has a स्थाल or cooking pot. The Guru, believing this to be true, again replies, आयुष्मान् एथि स्थालिन् but without prolation, because the word is not a Proper Noun. The other then says "O Sir, it is not my epithet, it is my Proper Name". The Guru now comes to learn that he is being laughed at, and so gets angry and says : असूक्यकस्त्वं जाल्म! न त्वं प्रत्यभिवादनमर्हसि ; भिद्यस्व वृष्टल्लिन्! || Here it is a curse, as well as a pun : i. e. "burst thou, O sinner ! like unto a cooking pot (sthālin = sthali-vat).

*Iṣṭi* :—This prolation takes place there only, where the Proper Noun Gotra &c. with which the salutation was made, is employed by the Guru at the end of the sentence ; and not where the position of the Proper Name &c is different. Therefore not here, देवदत्त कुशल्यसि ; देवदत्त आयुष्मान् एथि, for here the word Devadatta is not used at the end of a sentence.

*Vārt* :—The prolation is optional, when भोः follows such Proper Name, or when the Person addressed is a Kshatriya or a Vaishya. As भी अभिवादये देवदत्तोऽहं || Reply (1) आयुष्मान् एथि देवदत्त भोः ३ or (2) आयुष्मान् एथि देवदत्त भोः ॥ So also when a Kshatriya is addressed, as अभिवादये इन्द्रवर्माहं भोः, Reply (1) आयुष्मान् एथि इन्द्रवर्मन् ३ or (2) आयुष्मान् एथि इन्द्रवर्मन् ॥ Vaishya : अभिवादये इन्द्रपालितोऽहं भोः ॥ Guru : आयुष्मानोऽथि इन्द्रपालित ३ or आयुष्मानोऽथि इन्द्रपालित ! ॥

दूरादूते च ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दूरात्, हृते, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दूरादूते यदाक्यं वर्तते तस्य देः प्लुतो भवति स औदातः ॥

इष्टिः ॥ वाक्यस्थाने यत्र सम्बोधनपदं भवति, तत्र अयं प्लुत इव्यते ॥

84. The final vowel of a sentence becomes *pluta* and acute, when used in calling a person from a distance.

The word दूरात् is in the Fifth case by II. 3. 35; the word हृतं means 'calling', 'addressing'. Thus आगच्छ भो माणवक देवदत्ताऽ ॥ आगच्छ भो माणवक यज्ञदत्ताऽ ॥ The word 'distance' is a relative term, and is not fixed at what distance there should be prolation. The prolation however takes place, when a voice is to be raised, in order that the sound may reach the person. That distance upto which the voice can be heard without raising its pitch and without any special effort, need not be considered as "distance" for the purposes of this sūtra.

The word हृत here includes, 'addressing in general', and 'not only calling'. Thus there is prolation here also सन्तून् पिब देवदत्ताऽ, पलायस्व देवदत्ताऽ ॥ This *pluta* sentence becomes *eka-śruti* by I. 2. 33.

Why do we say "from a distance"? Observe आगच्छ भो माणवक देवदत्त !

*Iṣṭi* :—This prolation takes place only then, when the noun in the vocative case stands at the end of the sentence. Therefore, there is no prolation here: देवदत्त आगच्छ ॥

हैहप्रयोगे हैहयोः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ है, हे, प्रयोगे, है, हयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हैहेप्रयोगे वृगाद्धते यद्युक्त्यं वर्तते तत्र हैहयोरेव प्लातो भवति ।

85. When the words है and हो are employed, in addressing a person from a distance, there the है and हो alone get the pluperfect and the accent.

As है ३ देवदत्त, देवदत्त है ३ ॥ है ३ देवदत्त, देवदत्त है ३ ॥

The repetition of the words एवं and एति in the sūtra, is for the sake of indicating, that the prolation takes place even when एवं and एति do not stand at the end of a sentence.

गुरोरनृतोनन्त्यस्याप्येकैकस्य प्राचाम् ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुरोः, अन-ऋतः, अ-  
नन्त्यस्य, अपि, एक, एकस्य, प्राचाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षक्तारवर्जितस्य शुरोरनन्तस्यापि शब्दादन्तस्यापि देवेकैकस्य सञ्चोधने वर्तमानस्य प्लुतो भवति प्राचीभार्चार्याणां मंतव्यं ॥

86. In the room of a prosodially long vowel, (with the exception of ए) though it may not stand at the end, there is substituted a pluta for one at a time, under the above circumstances (VIII. 2.83-84), in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians.

This sūtra indicates a special sthānin for the *pluta* vowel taught by VIII. 2. 83 to 84. With the exception of *ऋ*, for every heavy vowel, though it may not be the final vowel of the vocative word, and for the final vowel also, but only one at a time, there is *pluta* substitution, in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians. Thus दे॒॒॒॑दत्त or दे॒॒॒॒॒त्त or दे॒॒॒॒॒॒॒त्त॥ Similarly with य॒॒॒॒॒॑दत्त, य॒॒॒॒॒॒॒॒॒त्त or य॒॒॒॒॒॒॒॒॒॒॒त्त॥

Why do we say युरोः "of a prosodically long vowel"? So that the अ of उ and औ in Devadatta and Yajñadatta may not be prolated, for this अ is short.

Why do we say अन्तः "with the exception of कृ"? Observe कृष्णमित्र, कृष्ण-  
मित्रैः, but never कृष्णमित्र ॥

The word एकैकस्य shows that the prolation should not be simultaneous, but of one at a time; not देवदेवता ॥

The word प्राचाम् "in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians" is used for the sake of creating option. So in one alternative, there is no prolation *at all*.

As आयुष्मान् एषि देवदत्त ॥ Thus the present sūtra, makes VIII. 2. 83 and 84, optional sūtras. This also is an authority for the following dictum of Patanjali " सर्वं एव प्लृतः साहसमनिच्छता विभाषा कर्त्तव्यः " ( Mahabhaṣya VIII. 2. 92. Commentary). Thus *all* rules relating to Prolation become optional. In short, the word प्राचाम् should be read in all rules regarding prolation, and thus without doing violence (sāhasa) to grammatical authority, one may have optional *pluta* everywhere.

ओमभ्यादाने ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओम्, अभ्यादाने ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यादानं प्रारम्भः तत्र य ओमशब्दः तस्य प्लुतो भवति ॥

87. The vowel in ओम् is plutा in the beginning of a sacred text.

The word अभ्यादानं means the commencement of a sacred mantra or Vedic text. Thus ओम् अग्निसीले पुराहितं यज्ञस्य देवमृतिं ॥ (Rig I. 1. 1).

Why do we say "in the beginning"? Observe ओमित्येतद्धरमुक्तियमुपासीत (Chhāndogya Upanishad. I. 1. 1). Here ओम् is not used to indicate the commencement of a Text or Mantra, but is itself the subject of comment.

ये यज्ञकर्मणि ॥ पद ॥ पदानि ॥ ये, यज्ञ, कर्मणि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ये इत्येतस्य यज्ञकर्मणे प्लुतो भवति ॥

इटिः ॥ ये यजामह इत्यत्रैवाच्यंप्लुत इष्यते ॥

88. The vowel of ये becomes plutा in a sacred text, when it is employed in a sacrificial work.

Thus येऽयजामहे ॥ Why do we say when employed in sacrificial work? Observe ये यजामह इति पञ्चाक्षरम् "Ye yajamahe consists of five syllables". Here it is simple recitation.

*Ishṭi*—The word ये is plutा before यजामहे only. Therefore not so here: ये देवासो द्वित्येकाद्यस्य (Rig. I. 139. 11).

प्रणवष्टुः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रणवः, दे: ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यज्ञकर्मणि दे: प्रणव आदेशो भवति ॥

89. In a sacrificial work, ओम् is substituted for the final vowel, with the consonant, if any, that may follow it, of a sentence.

The word यज्ञकर्मणि is understood here also. The word प्रणव means ओम्. It is the name given to this syllable. This ओम् is substituted for the final letter (दे) of that word which stands either at the end of a Pāda of a sacred hymns or at the end of a hemistich of such Rik. Thus for अपां रेतांसि जिन्वति (Rig. VIII. 44. 16), we may have अपां रेतांसि जिन्वतोऽम् ॥ So also for देवाऽन्नं जिन्वति शुभ्रयुः (Rig. III. 27. 1), we may have देवाऽन्नं जिन्वते शुभ्रयेऽम् ॥

The word दे is repeated in this aphorism in spite of its anuvṛitti from VIII. 2. 82, to indicate that ओम् replaces the *whole* last syllable, with its vowel and consonant. Had दे not been repeated, then by the rule of अलो-अत्यस्य the final *letter* only of the दे portion of a sentence would have been replaced. Thus in शुभ्रयुः, the visarjaniya alone would have been replaced.

When not employed in connection with sacrificial works, there is no such substitution. Thus in simple reading of the Vedas, we should always recite अपां रेतांसि जिन्वति ॥

याज्यान्तः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ याज्या, अन्तः ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ याज्या नाम ये याज्या काण्डे पञ्चन्ते मन्त्रास्तेषामन्त्रो यटिः स हृवते यज्ञकर्मणि ॥

90. The last vowel at the end of Mantras called Yājya, when employed in sacrificial works, is plutā and has the Acute.

Thus स्तोमैर्विधेमाग्रयेऽ (Rig. VIII. 43. 11), जिह्वामप्य चक्रे हृव्यवाहाऽप्य (Rig. X. 8. 6).

Why do we say 'at the end'? There are some Yājya hymns, consisting of several sentences. The final vowel (टि) of every sentence would have become plutā, in such a hymn. To prevent it, the word "anta" is used, so that the final vowel of the hymn at the end of all, becomes plutā.

ब्रूहि प्रेष्य श्रौषद् वौषद् आवहानामादेः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रूहि, प्रेष्य, श्रौषद्, श्रौषद्, आवहानाम, आदेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रूहि प्रेष्य श्रौषद् वौषद् आवह इत्येतेषामादेः प्लुतो भवति यज्ञकर्मणि ॥

91. In a sacrificial work, the first syllable of ब्रूहि, प्रेष्य, श्रौषद्, वौषद् and आवह is plutā.

Thus अग्नेऽनुरूपैऽहि (Maitr. S. I. 4. 11), अग्ने गोमयानि (or न्) प्रैऽप्य, अस्तु श्रौषद्; सोमस्याग्ने वीर्हीऽ वैै॒षद्, अग्निर्मै॒वह ॥

So also in पित्यायामनुस्वरूपा on the analogy of ब्रूहि, so also अस्तुस्वरूपा ॥ The word वौषद् is illustrative of the six forms वषद्, वौषद्, वाषद्, वौक्षद्, वाक्षद्, वक्षाद् ॥

But there is no prolation in आवह देवान् यज्ञमानाथ ; आवह जात वेदः ॥

अग्नीत्प्रेषणे परस्य च ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्नीश्, प्रेषणे, परस्य, च ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ अग्नीषः प्रेषणमग्नीत्प्रेषणम् तत्रादेः प्लुतो भवति परस्य च ॥

92. In an order given to Āgnīdhra priest, the first syllable as well as the succeeding syllable is plutā.

In a Yajña, the principal priests (ṛtvij) are four Adhvaryu, Udgātā, Hotā, Brahmā. Every one of these has three subordinate priests (ṛtvij) under them ; as shown below.

#### NAMES OF PRINCIPAL.

#### S U B O R D I N A T E.

I.

½.

⅓.

⅔.

Adhvaryu : (Yajur)	Pratiprasthātā	Nesṭhā (VI.4.11)	Unnetā.
Udgātā (Sāman)	Prastotā	Pratihartā	Subrahmanyā.
Hotā (Rig) VI. 4. 11.	Maitrā varuṇa	Achchhāvāk	Potā (VI.4.11).
Brahmā (Atharvan)	Brāhmaṇāchhaṇī	Āgnīdhra	Grāvastuta.

The duty of Agnidhra is to kindle the sacrificial fire. In a summons or call (प्रेषण) made by the Adhvaryu, who is the Director of ceremonies, to the Agnidhra to perform the functions of Agnidh, both syllable become plutā.

The word अग्नीष्मृ प्रेषण is a compound = अग्नीष्मः प्रेषणम् “ a call or summon relating to Agnidhduty.”

Thus आ॒ आ॒ वय, यो॒ इ॒ आ॒ वय ॥ The plutā takes place only in these examples; therefore, not here, as अग्नीदग्नीन् विहार ; बहिं स्तूपीहि ॥ Some, therefore, read the aunvṛitti of the word विभाषा from the next sūtra, into this, and would have it an optional rule, of fixed jurisdiction ( viyavasthita vibhāshā ). Others say “ all plutā rules are optional ” ( सर्वं एव प्लुतः साहसमनिष्ठता विभाषा विज्ञेयः ) ॥ In उद्धर ३ उद्धर, अभिहर ३ अभिहर, there is Vedic diversity.

The words ‘relating to sacrificial work’ ( यज्ञकर्मणि ) are understood here also. Therefore not in डेमा आवय ॥

विभाषा पृष्ठप्रतिवचने हेः ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, पृष्ठ-प्रतिवचनेः, हेः ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ पृष्ठप्रतिवचने विभाषा हेः प्लुतो भवति ॥

93. हि at the end of an answer to a question may optionally be plutā.

Thus Q. अकार्यः कं देवदत्त ? Ans. अकार्यं ही॑३ or अकार्यं हि ॥ Q. अलावीः केशारं देवदत्त ? Ans. अलाविषं ही॑३ or हि ॥

Why do we say “in answer to a question” ? Observe कं करिष्यति हि ॥

• Why do we say हेः “of हि” ? Observe करोमि ननु ॥

निगृह्यानुयोगे च ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नि गृह्या, अनुयोगे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वमतात्प्रच्यावने निप्रहः ॥ अनुयोगस्तस्य मतस्याविकरणम् ॥ तत्र निगृह्यानुयोगे यद्याक्यं वर्तते तस्य देः प्लुतो भवति विभाषा ॥

94. The end syllable of that sentence is optionally plutā, when it asserts something which has been refuted, and is employed by the victor by way of censure.

The word निप्रहः means the refutation of another's opinion. निगृह्य is a gerund, and means ‘having refuted’. अनुयोगः is the expression of the same proposition which has been refuted. When a person has demonstrated the untenableness of another's assertion, and then employs the said assertion by way of taunt, reproach or reprimand, then the final syllable of such a sentence becomes plutā. The sūtra literally means “Having refuted(it) when asserting (the same by way of censure).”

Thus an opponent asserts that “The word is not eternal.” (अनित्यः शब्दः). Proving by arguments the untenableness of this position, and after refuting it, the victor says by way of reprimand:—अनित्यः शब्द इत्यात्यै॑३ or अनित्य शब्द इत्यात्य ॥ ‘ This is then your assertion—that the word is not eternal’. Similarly अथ आद्यमित्यात्यै॑३ or अथ आद्यमित्यात्य ॥ अद्यामावास्येत्यात्यै॑३ or अद्यामावास्येत्यात्य ॥

In some texts of Kāśikā, according to Padamanjari, only the last example is given.

आम्रेडितं भर्त्सने ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आम्रेडितम्, भर्त्सने ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ वाक्यादेरामन्त्रितस्येति भर्त्सने ह्रिवचनमुक्तं तस्यामोडितं ह्रवते ॥  
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भर्त्सने पर्यायेणेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

95. The end syllable of an āmredita Vocative is plutā, when threat is expressed.

A Vocative is reiterated when threat is meant (VIII. i. 8). Its final syllable becomes plutā. Thus चौरै चौरौऽ वातिष्यामि त्वा ॥ So also वृशल वृशलौऽ वन्धयिष्यामि त्वा, दस्य दस्योऽ &c.

Though the anuvṛtti of the sūtra VIII. 2. 82, is current here, yet the final of the sentence is not plutā, but of the āmredita.

*Vārt* :—It should be rather stated that any one of the repeated words may be plutā by alternation. Thus चौरौऽ चौर or चौर नौरौऽ ॥ The word āmredita is employed in the sūtra as illustrative of the doubling, for threat is expressed by both words, so plutā may be of both words in turn; and not of the second word only, though that is called technically āmredita.

अङ्गयुक्तं तिङ्गाकाङ्गक्षम् ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्ग, युक्तम्, तिङ्गाकाङ्गक्षम् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्गइतनेन युक्तं तिङ्गन्तमाकाङ्गं भर्त्सने ह्रवते ॥

96. The final syllable of a finite verb, used as a threat becomes plutā, when the word अङ्ग is joined with it, and it demands another sentence to complete the conclusion.

Thus अङ्ग कूजौऽ इशानी ज्ञात्यसि जालम् ॥ अङ्ग व्याहरौऽ इशानी ज्ञात्यसि जालम् ॥

Why do we say 'a verb'? Observe अङ्ग देवदत्त मिथ्या वदसि ॥

Why do we say "when this calls for a conclusion"? Observe अङ्ग पञ्च ॥ Here it is a complete sentence and does not demand another to complete the sense.

The word भर्त्सने of the last sūtra is understood here also. Therefore not here, अङ्ग अधीच्च, ओदनं से शास्यामि ॥ Here अङ्ग has the force of solicitation. (VIII. i. 33).

विचार्यमाणानाम् ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विचार्य-माणानाम् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रमाणेन वस्तुपरीक्षणं विचारः । तस्य विषये विचार्यमाणानां वाक्यानां देः प्लुतो भवति ॥

97. The end-syllable of those sentences is plutā, which denote acts of reflection (or balancing between two alternatives).

To determine a thing by weighing all arguments *pro* and *con* is called vichāra or judgment. Thus होतव्यं वीक्षितस्य गृहा इ न होतव्यौऽम् "should one perform sacrifice in the house of an initiated person". Similarly तिष्ठेष्युपाश्व, अनुप्रहरे

यूर्णीश्वः ॥ Here also it is being reflected upon whether यूर्णे तिष्ठेत् or यूर्णे अनुपहेत् ॥ i.e. should the stake remain upright or should it be put flat by the yajamāna. किं यूर्णपस्तिष्ठेत्, किं वा यूर्णं यजमानः शाययेत् ॥

पूर्वं तु भाषायाम् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वम्, तु, भाषायाम् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ भाषायां विषये विचार्यमाणानां पूर्वमेव मुवते ॥

98. In the common speech, the end-vowel of the first alternative is only plutā.

This makes a niyama or restriction. The previous sūtra, is thus confined to Vedic literature, and not to the vernacular. तु here has the force of 'only'. Thus अहि दै३ रज्जुरुदु 'Is it a snake or a rope?' लोटो दै३ कपोतोनु 'Is it a clod of earth or a pigeon?'

The priority, of course, depends upon employment. The order of words depends upon one's choice.

प्रतिश्रवणे च ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिश्रवणे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिश्रवणमभ्युपगमः प्रतिज्ञानम् ॥ श्रवणाभिमुख्यं च तत्राविशेषात्सर्वत्य भहणम् ॥ प्रतिश्रवण वद्वाक्यं वर्तते तस्य देः प्लुतो भवति ॥

99. The end-syllable of the sentence which expresses assent or promise or listening to, is plutā.

The word प्रतिश्रवण means "agreement, assent or promise". It also means "listening to". All these senses are to be taken here, as there is nothing in the sūtra to restrict its scope. Thus it has three senses, 1. to promise something to a petitioner, 2. to acknowledge the truth of some proposition, 3. to listen to another's words. Thus गां मे है भोः, 1. हन्त ते इश्वर्मि३ ॥ 2. नित्यः शब्दो भवितुमर्हति३ ॥ 3. देवहत्त भोः, किमार्थ॑३ ॥

अनुदात्तं प्रश्नान्ताभिपूजितयोः ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तम्, प्रश्न-अन्त, अभि पूजितयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तः प्लुतो भवति प्रश्नान्ते अभिपूजिते च ॥

100. The end-vowel at the end of a question or of a praise is plutā, but unaccented.

That which is employed at the end of an interrogative sentence is called प्रश्नान्तः ॥ According to some, this rule does not ordain plutā, but only ordains the anudātta-ness of those syllables which become plutā by the previous rules VIII. 2. 84 &c. The meaning of the sūtra then is:—That plutā which comes at the end of an Interrogative sentence or a sentence denoting admiration, is anudātta.

Thus अगम॑३ः पूर्व॑३न् मान॑३न् अभिभूता॑३ or अगम॑३ः पूर्व॑३न् मान॑३न् पदा॑३त् (i. e. अगमः पूर्वान् मानान् अभिभूते or पदो ) ॥ The words अभिभूते, and पदो being finals in a

question, become anudātta as well as plutā. The other words अग्रः &c become svarita and plutā by VIII. 2. 105. See VIII. 2. 107.

As regards अभिषूजिते we have शोभनः खल्वसि माणवका॒ ३ ॥ Here the final of माणवक becomes anudātta and plutā.

**चिदिति चोपमार्थं प्रयुज्यमाने ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥** चित्, इति, च, उपमा-अर्थं, प्रयुज्यमाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तमिति वर्तते चिदित्येतस्मिन्निपाते उपमार्थं प्रयुज्यमाने वाक्यस्य देवनुशास्तः प्लुतो भवति ॥

101. The end-vowel at the end of a sentence becomes anudātta and plutā, when the particle चित् is employed, denoting comparison.

The word अनुशास्तः is understood here. This sūtra ordains plutā as well and not merely accent.

Thus अग्रचिद् भाण्डाश्त् 'may he shine as fire'. So also राजचिद् भाण्डाश्त् 'may be shine as a King'.

Why do we say 'when the sense is that of comparison'? Observe कथं चिद् आहः ॥ Here चिद् has the force of 'littleness or difficulty'.

Why do we say प्रयुज्यमाने 'when expressly employed'? Observe अन्नि माणवको भाण्डाश्त् 'Let the boy shine like fire'. Here चित् is understood, hence the rule does not apply.

**उपरिस्विदासीदिति च ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपरि-स्वित्-आसीत्, इति, च ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तमिति वर्तते ॥ उपरिस्विदासीत्येतस्य देवनुशास्तः प्लुतो भवति ॥

102. In उपरि स्विद् आसीद् the end vowel is anudātta and plutā.

The word anudātta is understood here also. The end-vowel would have been plutā here by VIII. 2. 97: the present sūtra really ordains accentlessness of this plutā.

Thus अधः स्विदासीश्त्, उपरि स्विदासीश्त् (Rig X. 129. 5). In the first portion आसीत् is plutā and udātta by VIII. 2. 97, in the second it is anudātta by the present sūtra.

**स्वरितमाग्रेडितेसूयासंमतिकोपकुत्सनेषु ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वरितम्, आग्रेडिते, असूया, सम्मति, कोप, कुत्सनेषु ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वरितः प्लुतो भवति आग्रेडिते परतः असूयायां सम्मतौ कोपे कुत्सने च गम्येमान ॥ वा ॥ असूयाविषु वा वचनं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

103. Of the two Vocatives of the same form standing at the beginning of a sentence, the end-vowel of the first becomes plutā and svarita, when envy, praise, anger, or blame is expressed.

The vocative is doubled by VIII. 1. 8. This sūtra ordains plutā there. Thus Envy :—माणवका॒ ३ माणवक, अभिषूपका॒ ३ अभिषूपक, रिक्तं त अभिषूप्यम् ॥ Praise :—

माणवकां॒ माणवक, अ॑भिरूपकां॒ अभिरूपक शोभनः खल्वसि ॥ Anger :—माणवकां॒ माणवक, अ॑विनीतकां॒ अविनीतक इदार्नी॒ ज्ञास्यसि॒ जाल्य ॥ Blame :—शान्तीकां॒ शान्तीक, यादीकां॒ यादीक रिक्ता॒ ते॒ शक्तिः ॥

*Vart* :—The word “optionally” should be read into this sūtra. Thus there is no plutā and svarita in one alternative. As माणवक माणवक &c.

क्षियाशीः प्रैषेषु तिङ्गाकाङ्क्षम् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षिया, आशी, प्रैषेषु, तिङ्ग-आकाङ्क्षम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वरित इति॒ वर्तते॒ । क्षिया॒ आचारभेदः । आशी॒ प्रार्थनाविशेषः । शब्देन॒ व्यापारण॒ प्रैषः । एतेषु॒ गम्यमानेषु॒ तिङ्गन्तामकाङ्क्षं॒ यज्ञस्य॒ स्वरितः॒ प्लुतो॒ भवति॒ ॥

104. When an error against polite usage is censured, or when a benediction or a bidding is intended, the end syllable of a finite verb becomes plutā and svarita, if this requires another sentence to complete the sense.

The word ‘svarita’ is understood here. The word क्षिया means ‘the error in usage’ or ‘want of good breeding’. (VIII.1.60) आशीः means ‘benediction’. प्रैषः means ‘order’ or ‘commanding by words’.

Thus (1) स्वयं॒ रथेन॒ यौतिं॒, उपाध्यायं॒ पशाति॒ गमयति॒ ॥ स्वयं॒ भोदनं॒ भुहन्ते॒, उपाध्यायं॒ सकृदूर॒ पायथाति॒ ॥ In both these, the first sentence requires the second as its complement, and hence there is साकाङ्क्षा॒ ॥

Benediction :—सुतां॒ लप्तीष्टां॒ धनं॒ च॒ तात ; छन्दोद्येषीष्टां॒ व्याकरणं॒ च॒, भद्र॒ ॥

Order :—कर्तुं॒ कुरुं॒ भास्मं॒ च॒ गच्छ ; यवान्॒ लुनीहि॒, सकृदूर॒ पिब॒ ॥

Why do we say “when it requires another sentence as its complement”? Observe शीर्षे॒ ते॒ आयुरस्तु॒; अग्नीन्॒ विहर॒ ॥ There cannot be any counter-example of क्षिया, for there two sentences are absolutely necessary to express the sense of censure.

अनन्त्यस्यापि॒ प्रश्नाख्यानयोः ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनन्त्यस्य, अपि, प्रश्न, आस्या-नयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनन्त्यस्यापि॒ अनन्त्यस्यापि॒ पदस्य॒ देः॒ प्लुतो॒ भवति॒ प्रमे॒ आख्याने॒ च॒ ॥

105. In a question or narration, the end-vowel of a word, though not final in a sentence, becomes svarita and plutā, as well as of the word which is final in a sentence.

The word ‘padasya’ is understood here: and so also the word ‘svarita’. The end-vowel of a word which is not the last word in a sentence, as well as of the last word, becomes svarita and plutā, when a question is asked, or a fact is narrated. In fact, *all* the words of a sentence become svarita and plutā hereby.

Thus in questioning we have :—आगमां॒ पूर्वां॒ श्रामां॒ श्रामि॒ भूतां॒ इ॒ or पटां॒ इ॒ ॥ Thus all words have become svarita and plutā. The final word

would, in one alternative, become anudatta also, by VIII. 2. 100; as shown under that sūtra. The force of the word अपि in the sūtra, is to make the final word also svarita, and thus this sūtra makes VIII. 2. 100 an *optional* sūtra with regard to question.

In अक्ष्याना or narration, there is no other rule, which is debarred by this. Therefore there, *all* words become svarita and plutā *necessarily*, by the force of this sūtra. Thus अगमां॒३८् पूर्वी॒३९् मार्मा॒३१् भै॑३ः ॥

Another view of this sūtra is that the word अपि applies only to अक्ष्याना, so that in अक्ष्याना *all* words become svarita. But in praśna, the final word will not become svarita, but anudatta *necessarily* by VIII. 2. 100. According to this view, this sūtra does not ordain *option*. This view is not adopted by Kāsikā, or Padamanjari or Siddhanta Kaumudi.

प्लुतावैच इदुतौ ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्लुतौ, ऐचः, इदुतौ ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ दूराद्ग्रातदिषु प्लुतो विहितः तत्र ऐचः प्लुतप्रसङ्गे तद्वयवभूतावि दुतौ प्लुतौ ॥

106. In forming the plutā of the diphthongs ऐ and औ, their last element इ and उ get the plutā.

The plutā ordained by VIII. 2. 84 &c. when applied to ऐ or औ, cause the prolation of the last element of these diphthongs namely of इ or उ. The word प्लुतौ in the sūtra is Nominative dual of प्लुत, and the aphorism literally means “इ and उ are plutā of the diphthongs ऐ and औ” ॥

Thus ऐतिकायन, औ॒३४गत ॥

The letters ऐ and औ are compound letters or diphthongs consisting of अ+इ and अ+उ ॥ In making the plutā of these, the question arises, should both अ and इ (or उ) be prolated, or only the last element, or the first only. The present sūtra answers that doubt. If in the analysis of these letters, अ be taken as having one mātrā (or *moras*), and इ and उ one mātrā, then the plutā इ and उ will have two mātrās, so that the whole plutā ऐ and औ will have *three* mātrās. In fact, the word प्लुत is used here as a Past Participle of प्लु, having the force of a verb ; and इदुतौ प्लुतौ means इदुतौ प्लुते i. e. वृद्धि गच्छतः, i. e. इ and उ are lengthened. And इ and उ are lengthened to that extent, so as to make ऐ and औ *three* mātrās. Thus when अ+इ and अ+उ each has one mātrā, then the plutā of इ and उ will have *two* mātrās as we have said before. But when अ+इ (ए) and अ+उ (ओ) are considered to have अ half mātrā, and इ and उ one mātrā and a half, then इ and उ are made plutā, so as to have two and a half ( $2\frac{1}{2}$ ) mātrās each, thus the whole of ऐ and औ, has still *three* mātrās. In fact, the definition of *pluta* is, that it is a vowel which has *three* mātrās : so that we should so prolate the vowel as to make it have *three* mātrās.

But according to Patanjali, this plutā of ऐ and औ has *four* mātrās. Thus अ+इ and अ+उ each has *one* mātrā. The plutā of इ and उ will have

*three* mātrās. Thus अ + इ and अ + उ, or the *whole* has *four* mātrās. According to this view a vowel may have *four* mātrās also.

एचोऽप्रगृह्यस्यादुरादधूते पूर्वस्यार्द्धस्यादुत्तरस्येदुतौ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ एचो,  
अ-प्रगृह्यस्य, अदुरादधूते, पूर्वस्य अर्धस्य, आत, उत्तरस्य ईतू, उतौ ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ एचोऽप्रगृह्यस्यादुरादधूते लक्ष्मिविषयस्यार्द्धस्याकार आदेशो भवति स च लक्ष्मिः उत्तरस्येकारोका-  
रावादेशो भवतः ॥  
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ विषयपरिगणं कर्तव्यं ॥ वा०॥ प्रभान्ताभिपूजितविचार्यमाणप्रत्यभिवादयाज्यान्तेष्विति वक्तव्यम् ॥  
वा० ॥ आमन्त्रिते छन्दसि लक्ष्मिविकारोयं वक्तव्यः ॥

107. In the diphthongs, which are not Pragṛhya (I. 1. 11 &c) and which become plutā under the circumstances mentioned in VIII. 2. 83 &c., but not when that circumstance is a call from a distance (VIII. 2. 84); for the first half, there is substituted the prolated आ, and for the second portion इ or उ ॥

The diphthongs or एच् are ए, ऐ, ओ and औ ॥ Their elements are अ+इ, and अ+उ ॥ When these diphthongs are to be prolated, at the end of a word, the diphthong is resolved into its elements, the *first* portion अ is prolated, and इ or उ added, as the case may be. This इ and उ, in fact, are the substitutes of the second portion, which may be इ or उ, or ए or औ ॥

This rule is not of universal application, but applies to Rules VIII. 2. 100, VIII. 2. 97, VIII. 2. 83, and VIII. 2. 90 only, according to the

*Vart* :—The scope of this sūtra should be determined by enumerating the rules to which it applies.

*Vart* :—It should be stated that it applies to sūtras VIII. 2. 100, 97, 83 and 90.

Thus VIII. 2. 100: As अगमाइः पूर्वाइन् मामाइन् अग्निभूताइँ ॥ or पदाइँ ॥  
भद्रं करोषि माणवकाइ अग्निभूताइँ ॥ or पदाइँ ॥ So also VIII. 2. 97: होतव्यं शीक्षितस्य  
गृहाइँ ॥ So also VIII. 2. 83, as :—आयुष्मान् एषि अग्निभूताइँ ॥ or पदाइँ ॥ So also  
VIII. 2. 90:—as.

उक्तान्नाय वशान्नाय सोमपृष्ठाय वेधसे ।

स्तोमै विष्वेमाग्रयाइँ ॥ (Tait. S. I. 3. 14. 7).

This plutā अ is udātta, anudātta or svarita, according to the particular rule which has been applied, i. e. at the end of a question it is anudātta or svarita, and every where else, udātta. The इ and उ are of course, always udātta: because the anuvṛitti of udātta is current here.

Why do we restrict this sūtra to the above-mentioned four rules? Observe विष्णुभूते विष्णुभूते इ घातयिष्वामि त्वा आगच्छ भो माणवक विष्णुभूते ॥

In fact, the present sūtra being confined to the above-mentioned four rules, the words अदुरादधूते in the sūtra, are redundant: and should not have

been used. Moreover the word पदान्त should have been used in the sūtra, for it applies to diphthongs at the *end* of a pada. Therefore, not here, भ्रं करोषि गौरिति ॥ Here गौ before the sarvanāmsthāna affix सु is not a Pada (I. 4. 17).

Why do we say ‘when it is not a Pragṛhya’? Observe शोभने स्वल्प स्थःखद्वैः ॥

*Vārt* :—This peculiar modification of plutā vowel takes place in the Vocative case in the Vedas. As अग्राइह पवीताइः सजूर्वेन ल्वस्त्रा सोमं पिब ॥ Here by no other rule, the Vocative would have become prolated

तयोर्युवचि संहितायाम् ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तयोः य, वौ, अचि, संहितायाम् ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ तयोर्दितोर्थकारादेशौ भवतो इथि संहितायां विषये ॥

*Kārikā* :—किं तु यथा भवतीह न सिद्धं श्वाविदुतोर्थदयं विदधाति ।  
तौ च मम स्वरसन्धिषु सिद्धौ शाकलवीर्यविधी तु निवर्त्यै ॥  
इकं तु यथा भवति प्लुतपूर्वस्तस्य यणं विदधातपवादम् ।  
तेन तयोर्थ न शाकलवीर्यौ यग्रास्वरबाधनमेव तु हेतुः ॥

108. For these vowels इ and उ are substituted श् and श् when a vowel follows them in a samhita (in an unbroken flow of speech).

The word संहितायाम् is an adhikāra and exerts its influence upto the end of the Book. Whatever we shall teach hereafter, upto the end of the Book, will apply to words which are in Sanhitā.

Thus अग्राइयाशा, पटाइवाशा, अग्राइयिन्द्रम्, पटाइवुदकम् ॥

Why do we say “when a vowel follows”? Observe अग्राइह, पटाइउ ॥

Why do we say संहितायाम् ‘in an uninterrupted flow of speech’? Observe अग्नाइह इ इन्द्रम्, पटाइउ उदकम् in Pada Pāṭha.

This sūtra is made, because इ and उ being Pluta-modifications are considered as asiddha (VIII. 2. 1) for the purposes of इको यणचि (VI. 1. 77). But supposing that some how or other, these इ and उ be considered siddha, still the present rule is necessary to prevent their lengthening before a homogeneous vowel (VI. 1. 101), or their retaining their form unchanged by VI. 1. 127. If it be said, that these rules VI. 1. 101, and VI. 1. 127, would not apply, because of the Vārtika इकः प्लुतपूर्वस्य सर्वर्णशीर्य बाधनार्थं यणादेशो वक्तव्यः (Vārtika to VI. 1. 77); still the present sūtra ought to be made, in order to prevent यण accent (VIII. 2. 4).

*Kārikā* :—Q. Could not this have been accomplished by the यणादेश of VI. 1. 77, that the Achārya has taught this separate श् and श् substitution?

*Ans.*—If you say that plutā is siddha in the vowel sandhi rules, because of the jñāpaka in sūtra VI. 1. 125, then still this rule is necessary in order to prevent the lengthening of VI. 1. 101, and the Sākala rule VI. 1. 127.

Q.—But those two rules VI. 1. 101, and VI. 1. 127, have already been debarred by the Vārtika which ordains that यग्निश्च takes place of such a vowel following a plutā (See vārtika to VI. 1. 77), what is then the necessity of the present sūtra?

Ans.—The necessity of the present sūtra is to prevent the यज-accent of VIII. 2. 4.

According to one view, the vārtika under VI. 1. 77, refers to those vowels which are not plutā-elements, like the present इ and उ, but which are *independent* vowels following after a plutā vowel. As भोऽ इ हन्त्र॒ = भोऽ विन्द॒ ॥  
Here इ is a Nipāta.



ओ३म् ।

## अथ अष्टमाध्यास्य तृतीयः पादः ।

### BOOK EIGHTH.

#### CHAPTER THIRD.

मतुवसो रु सम्बुद्धौ छन्दसि ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ मतु, वसोः, रु, सबुद्धौ, छन्दसि ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ मत्वन्तस्य वस्वन्तस्य च पदस्य सरित्यमादेशो भवति सम्बुद्धौ परतः छन्दसि विषये ॥  
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वन उपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ भवद्गगवद्घवतःमेत्यावस्य ॥

1. For the final of the affixes मत् and वस्, there is substituted रु, in the Vocative singular, in the Chhandas.

The word संहितार्थः is understood here. A word ending in the affix मत् or वस्, changes its final त् or स् into रु, in the Chhandas, in the Vocative singular. Thus मत्:—इन्द्रै मरुत्व इह पांहि सोमूष् (Rig. III. 51. 7) हरिवो मेदिनं त्वा ॥ Here मरुत्वः is Vocative Sg. of मरुत्वत् and हरिवः of हरिवत्, meaning “he who is possessed of Maruts or Hari horses”. The न of मत् is changed to व by VIII. 2. 10; 15. The base मरुत् before this termination is Bha by I. 4. 19. The affix शु (nom. sg.) is elided by VI. 1. 68; the त् is elided by VIII. 2. 23, and the न् (of नुम् VII. 1. 70) is changed to रु by this sūtra. So also इन्द्रायाहि तूतुजानः उपद्वाणि हरिवः (Rig. I. 3. 6).

With वस्:—मीद्वृत्योकाय तन्याय चूल (Rig. II. 33. 14), इन्द्रसाहः ॥ See VI. 1. 12, for the formation of मीद्वान्, साहान् with कृमु ॥

Why do we say ‘of मत् and वस्’? Observe ब्रह्मन् स्तोत्यानः ॥ Why do we say in the Vocative Singular? Observe एवं विद्वान्प्रिमाधत्ते ॥ Why do we say in the Chhandas? Observe हे गोमन्, हे पपिवन् ॥

*Vart* :—The affix वस् should also be enumerated. The affixes कृनिष् and वनिष् are both meant here. Its final is also changed to रु in the Vocative Sg. As यस्त्वायन्तं वसुना प्रातरित्वः ॥ The word प्रातरित्वन् is formed by adding कृनिष् to the root इ (ए०) preceded by प्रातः ॥ See III. 2. 75. The तुक् is added by VI. 1. 71.

*Vārt* :—The finals of भवत्, भगवत् and अघवत् are changed to रु, optionally in the secular as well as the sacred literature, and the syllable अर् of these words is changed to ओ ॥ This is a general rule, applying both in the Vedas and the Bhāshā. Thus भवत्—हे भोः or हे भवन् ॥ भगवत्—हे भगोः or हे भगवन् ॥ अघवत्—हे अघोः or हे अघवन् ॥ Or these words भोः भगोः and अघोः are so irregularly formed by the Achārya himself in VIII. 3. 17. These are found in other numbers than the Vocative Singular, as भो देवदत्तयज्ञश्चौ, भो देवदत्तयज्ञश्च विष्णुमित्राः ॥ It is found in connection with Feminine nouns also, as भो ब्राह्मणि ॥

The adhikāra of the word संहितायां does not exert any apparent influence in this sūtra. It however has influence in those subsequent sūtras, where the change in one word is occasioned by another word on account of sanhita or juxta-position, as in VIII. 3. 7.

See VIII. 2. 3 (Vārtika 2) by which the lopa is considered siddha in हस्तिः, otherwise there would have been no रु change in हस्तिः मे &c.

अत्रानुनासिकः पूर्वस्य तु वा ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्र, अनुनासिकः, पूर्वस्य तु वा ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारोत्थम् । इत उत्तरं यस्य स्थाने शर्वधीयते ततः पूर्वस्य तु वर्णस्य वाऽनुनासिको भवतीत्येतदशिकृतं वेदितव्यम् ॥

2. In the following sūtras upto VIII. 3. 12, this is always to be supplied :—“But here a nasal vowel may optionally be substituted for the preceding vowel after which रु has been ordained”.

This is an adhikāra sūtra. For the letter which stands before that letter for which रु has been substituted, there is substituted a nasal vowel, in this division of Grammar, where रु is the subject of discussion.

Thus sūtra VIII. 3. 5 says “In the place of the final of सम्, there is रु when सुर् augment follows”. The vowel अ of सम् becomes nasal ; as संस्कर्ता, संस्कर्तुम्, संस्कर्तव्यम् ॥

Why have we used the word अत्र in the sūtra? It means “here i. e. in this division where रु is the subject of discussion”. Obj. This object would have been gained, without using the word अत्र ; since it is an adhikāra sūtra and would apply to रु ॥ Ans. No. Here रु is taught in connection with nasal, therefore, the rule would not apply to any other context. For had अत्र not been used, we could not have known the extent of the jurisdiction (adhikāra) of this nasal ; and we might have applied the rule of nasality to those *beyond* the jurisdiction of रु, such as VIII. 3. 13. The employment of अत्र prevents this doubt and shows that रु and nasality are co-extensive.

आतोटि नित्यम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, अटि, नित्यम् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ अटि परतो रोः पूर्वस्याकारस्य स्थाने नित्यमनुनासिकादेशो भवति ॥

3. A nasal vowel is *always* substituted for आ before रु, when it is followed by a letter of अद् pratyâhâra (i. e. when it is followed by a vowel or ह, य, व, or र).

Thus VIII. 3. 9 teaches रु substitution of न्, the long आ preceding it, would have been optionally nasal by the last sûtra. The present sûtra makes it necessarily so. Thus महौं असि (Rig. III. 46. 2) महौं इन्द्रा य ओजसा (Rig. VIII. 6. 1). देवाँ अच्छाशीव्यत्॥

Some (i. e. the Taittariyas) read it as anusvâra. This is a Vedic diversity.

Why do we say "for a long आ"? Observe ये वा वनस्पतीरनु ॥ Why do we say "when a vowel or ह, य, व, or र follows"? Observe भवांश्चराति, भवांश्चाद्यति ॥

The word नित्य 'always' is employed for the sake of distinctness only. The very fact of making a separate sûtra, would give it a compulsory force, even without the word nitya.

अनुनासिकात्परोऽनुस्वारः ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुनासिकात्, परः, अनुस्वारः ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अनुनासिकाद्यो यो वर्णः रोः पूर्वः यस्यानुनासिको न विहितस्ततः परोऽनुस्वार आगमो भवति ॥

4. After what precedes रु, if we omit to substitute the nasal, then anusvâra shall be the augment.

The substitution of nasal is *optional* by VIII. 3. 2. When nasal is not substituted, we add an anusvâra to such vowel. The word अन्य should be read into the sûtra to complete the sense, i. e. अनुनासिकात् अन्यो यो वर्णः "a letter *other than* a nasal", i. e. a letter for which nasal has not been ordained, and which stands before रु ॥

Thus VIII. 3. 5, teaches रु substitution of the ष of सम् an anusvâra would be added. As संस्कर्ता, संस्कर्तव्यम् ॥ Similarly VIII. 3. 6, teaches रु substitution of the ष of पुष् ॥ An anusvâra will be added here also, as, पुंस्कामा ॥ Similarly VIII. 3. 7, teaches रु substitution of final न् ॥ Here also an anusvâra will be added, as भवांश्चरति ॥

Some say "the word परः in the sûtra means अन्यः, and so we need not supply the word अन्यः from outside". They say अनुनासिकात् परः = अनुनासिकाद्यः; i. e. the anusvâra takes place in that alternative when there is no nasal. That anusvâra is an *augment* and not a *substitute*. It is an augment to the vowel which precedes रु ॥

समः सुटि ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ समः, सुटि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम इत्येतस्य रुर्भवति सुटि परतः संहितायां विषये ॥

वर्त्तिकम् ॥ संपुंकानां सो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ समो वा लोपमनके ॥

5. रु is substituted for the र् of सम् (and thereby अं or अं is substituted for अ) when the augment स् follows, in a samhitâ.

The augment चुट् is added by VI. 1. 137 &c. Thus संस्कर्ता or संस्कर्ता, संस्कर्तुम् or संस्कर्तुम्, संस्कर्तव्यम् or संस्कर्तव्यम् ॥ The word is thus evolved: सम् + स् + कर्ता = सर् + स् + कर्ता (VIII. 3. 5). Here rule VIII. 3. 15 appears and requires to be changed to visarjannya. This visarga may optionally be retained unchanged by VIII. 3. 36. This, however, is not done in the present instance: but the visarga is *always* and *necessarily* changed to स् by VIII. 3. 34. In fact, the option of VIII. 3. 36 is a determinate option (vyavasthita vibhâshâ) and does not apply to the present case.

Or even this sûtra may be so read as to teach the स् substitution as well. Thus, the sûtra is समः स्चुटि with two स्, and the sûtra will mean, “रु is substituted for the र् of सम् before चुट्, and this रु is always changed to स्” ॥

Why do we say “for the र् of सम्”? Observe उपस्कर्ता ॥ Why do we say “before चुट्”? Observe संकृति ॥

*Vârt* :—For the finals of सम्, पुम् and कान् there is always substituted स् ॥ There would arise anomalies, if रु be substituted. Thus संस्कर्ता, पुस्तकामा, कांस्त्कान् ॥ In fact, according to this vârtika, रु is never substituted for सम् (VIII. 3. 5), पुम् (VIII. 3. 6) and कान् (VIII. 3. 12).

*Vârt* :—समो वा लोपमेके ॥ Some would have the elision of the स् after सम् ॥ This *Vârtika* is not given in the Kâsikâ, but the Padamanjari gives it, and so also the Mahâbhâshya.

According to Bhattoji Dikshita there will be 108 forms of this word संस्कर्ता ॥ Thus संस्कर्ता and संस्कर्ता with the elision of स् ॥ Then with two स्, as संस्सकर्ता, संस्सकर्ता ॥ Then we apply VIII. 4. 47 to this latter, and have three स्, as संस्स्सकर्ता or संस्स्सकर्ता ॥ The anusvâra is considered to be a vowel (अञ्च) for this purpose. From the three nasal forms संस्कर्ता, संस्सकर्ता and संस्स्सकर्ता, we get three more by doubling the क् by the vârtika क्षरः खयः ॥ The three forms having anusvâra, will also double their anusvâra in addition to क् doubling. Thus we have 12 forms in anusvâra: and six in nasal, altogether 18 forms. Then the त will be doubled and trebled: and thus with one त, two त and three त, we have  $3 \times 18 = 54$  forms. This will be doubled ( $2 \times 54 = 108$ ) when अञ्च is nasalised.

पुमः खय्यमपरे ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुमः, खयि, अम्-परे ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ पुमित्येतस्य र्हभवति अम्परे खयि परतः ॥

6. रु is substituted for the र् of पुम्. (whereby the

उ is changed to उँ or उं) before a surd mute (ख्य) which is followed by a vowel, semivowel or a nasal (अम् pratyāhāra).

Thus पुंस्कामा or पुंस्कामा; पुंस्पुत्रः or पुंस्पुत्रः; पुंस्फलम् or पुंस्फलम्; पुंश्वली or पुंश्वली ॥ The visarga in पुंस्कामा required to be changed optionally to र् jihvā-mūliya by VIII. 3. 37, but it is not so done. It is changed *always* to स् here by VIII. 3. 34, also. The स् of पुंस् is dropped by VIII. 2. 23, and the preceding sound is ष्, which comes to light in forms like पुमान् &c. For the sake of distinctness, Pāṇini has elected to exhibit the shorter form पुष् when in the beginning of a composition: because this shorter form पुष् is the real stem in composition. ख्य pratyāhāra includes the ten hard consonants, and अम् pratyāhāra includes all vowels, semivowels and nasals. पुंस्कामा is formed by the affix ण = पुमांसं कामयते ॥

In that alternative when we read the preceding sūtra as समःसुषुटि, then the anuvṛitti of this स् will be current in the present sūtra also, and so there will be no scope for the operation of VIII. 3. 37. And though the anuvṛitti of रु is also current, yet it will not apply here, because of its non-appropriateness in that alternative.

Why do we say 'before a surd mute'? Observe पुंद्रासः, पुंगवः (V. 4. 92). Why do we say 'followed by a vowel or semivowel or nasal'? Observe पुंक्षीरः, पुंस्तुरः ॥ Why do we use the word परे in the sūtra? Had we not used it, the sūtra might have been open to this construction also. The ष् of पुष् is so changed before a ख्य letter which has an अम् letter, (whether preceding it or following it). So that the rule would have applied to पुमाख्यः, पुमाचारः ॥

न इच्छत्व्यप्रशान् ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नः, छविः, अप्रशान् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ न कारणतस्य पदस्य प्रशान्वर्जितस्य सूर्यवत्यम्परे छविः परतः ॥

7. रु is substituted for the final न् of a word, with the exception of the न् of प्रशान्, before a छव् letter (छ, ठ, थ, च, ट, त), which is followed by an अम् letter (vowel, semivowel and nasal).

The word अम्परे is to be read into this sūtra. The word अप्रशान् in the sūtra is in the Nominative case, but it has the force of Genitive.

Thus भवांश्छादयति or भवांश्छादयति; भवांश्चिनोति or भवांश्चिनोति; भवांश्चिकते or भवांश्चिकते, (from the root श्चिकि 'to go'), भवांस्तरति or भवांस्तरति ॥

Why do we say 'before a छव् letter'? Observe भवान् करोति ॥ Why do we say 'with the exception of the न् of प्रशान्'? Observe प्रशान् छादयति, प्रशान् चिनोति ॥ Why do we say 'when अम् follows छव्'? See भवान् त्सरकः ॥ त्सर is sword, he who is dexterous in it, is called त्सरकः (कन् V. 2. 64).

उभयथर्शु ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उभयथा, अहस्तु ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ नकारान्तस्य पदस्य छविपरतः अम्बरं उभयथा अहस्तु भवति ॥

8. In both ways, in the Rig verses.

This ordains an option to the last sūtra, by which the रु substitution was compulsory. A word ending in न् followed by a letter of छवि class, which itself is followed by अम्ब, changes its final न् to र् *optionally* in the Rig Veda. Sometimes there is र् and sometimes न् ॥ Thus तस्मिन् त्वा इधाति or तस्मिस् त्वा इधाति ; पश्चूस्तोष्के ॥

Why do we say "in the Rig verses". No option is allowed here तास्त्वं खाद चुखादितान् ॥

दीर्घादटि समानपादे ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घात्, अटि, समानपादे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घादुत्तरस्य पदान्तस्य नकारस्य रुभवत्यटि परतस्तौ चेत्रिमित्तनिमित्तिनौ समानपादे भवतः ॥

9 रु is optionally substituted for that final न् of a word which is preceded by a long vowel, and is followed by an अट् letter (vowels and semi-vowels with the exception of ल्), when these (न् and अट्) come in contact with each other in the same stanza of the Rig Veda.

The नः of VIII. 3. 7 is understood here : and so also अहस्तु ॥ The word समानपाद means एकापाद, i. e. when both words are in one and the same Pāda of the verse. Thus परिशीर्ष रति (Rig. IX. 107. 19) स देवाँ एहवक्षति (Rig. I. 1. 2) देवाँ अच्छादीव्यत् ; महीं इन्द्रो य ओजसा ॥

Why do we say 'preceded by a long vowel'? Observe अहन्निष्ठ ॥ Why do we say "when followed by a vowel or अ, ए or र्"? Observe इथान् याचियान् ॥ Why do we say 'when both words are in the same Pāda of a verse'? Observe यातुधानान् उपस्थृतः ॥

The word उभयथा of the preceding sūtra is understood here also : so that it is an optional rule : and न् remains unchanged also, as आवित्यान् इथामहे आवित्यान् याचियामहे ॥ See VIII. 3. 3.

नून्पे ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ नून्, पे ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ नूनिष्ट्येतस्य नकारस्य रुभवति पश्चेद परतः ॥

10. रु is optionally substituted for the न् of नून् before पे ॥

The अ in पे is for the sake of pronunciation only. Thus नूः पाहि or नूः पाहि ; नूः प्रीणीहि or नूः प्रीणीहि ॥

Why do we say 'before पे'? Observe नून् भोजयति ॥ Some read the anuvṛtti of उभयथा into this sūtra, so that it is an optional one. Thus we have नून् पाहि also. The nominative case in नून् has the force of Genitive.

स्वतवान्पायौ ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वतवान्, पायौ ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ स्वतवानित्येतस्य नकारस्य रूभवति पायुशाद्व परतः ॥

11. The न् of स्वतवान् is changed to रु before पायु ॥

As स्वतवान् प्रयुरम्भन् (Rig. IV. 2. 6). The word is स्वतवस्, the न् is added by VII. 1. 83. The word is derived from तु वृद्धौ with the affix अभुन् (स्वन्तवो अस्यऽसौ स्वतवान्) ॥

कानाम्बेडिते ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कान्, आम्बेडिते ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ कानित्येतस्य नकारस्य रूभवति आम्बेडिते परतः ॥

12. रु is substituted for the न् of कान् when it is followed by another कान् which is an अम्रेदिता.

The sūtra might have been कान् कानि; but the use of the longer form आम्बेडिते shows, that where there is ‘doubling’, and the word gets the designation of अम्रेदिता, then the rule applies. Thus कांस्कान् आमन्वयते, काँस्कान् भोजयति; or कांस्कान् &c. When the second कान् is not an अम्रेदिता, we have कान् कान् पश्यति? Here one is कि asking question, and the other is used in the sense of contempt. This word is read in the list of कस्कादि (VIII. 3. 48), and hence sūtra VIII. 3. 37, does not apply. Or the स् of समः स्सुटि (VIII. 3. 5), is understood here, and that स् is enjoined here and not रु ॥ It should not be objected that in the preceding sūtras also स् should be enjoined and not रु; because in those sūtras रु is appropriate but not so here.

Why do we say ‘when an अम्रेदिता कान् follows’? Observe कान् कान् पश्यति where one is interrogatory and the other denotes contempt (II. 1. 64).

दो दे लोपः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दः, दे, लोपः ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ उकारस्य उकार लोपो भवति ॥

13. There is elision of द् when द् follows.

Though this sūtra is read in the division of Grammar which is governed by पश्चिकार, yet this elision takes place only then when the द् is not at the end of a pada. Thus लीढ from लिह+त ॥ The त् is changed to ढ् by VIII. 2. 31, and the त् is first changed to ध् by VIII. 2. 40, and then to द् by VIII. 4. 41. Thus लिह+द् ॥ The first द् is elided by this sūtra. Similarly मीढम्, उपगूढम् ॥ The change of ध् into द् by VIII. 4. 41, should be considered as valid and siddha for the purposes of this rule, otherwise this rule will find no scope.

*Obj*—It will find scope before that द् which is primary, as in श्वलिह+दौकते, where द् of दौकते is primary.

*Ans*.—No. Here the first द् will be changed to ड् by जश् rule (VIII. 2. 39) and so there will be no occasion to elide it. The form will be श्वलिह दौकते ॥ Nor is this द् लोपः rule an apavāda to जश् rule, because it has its scope in लीढ &c. For the जश् rule depends upon one pada, and is antaranga, or being

prior to this the lopa is asiddha with regard to it. Therefore जइत्व will take place first. Moreover in लिङ्ग+३ there is similarity of sounds (श्रुतिकृतं आनन्दर्थम्); though there may not be theoretical similarity (शास्त्रकृतं आनन्दर्थम्) when the change of श into ३ by VIII. 4. 41, is considered asiddha. But this theoretical technical dissimilarity will be removed by the express text of the present sūtra. But in श्वलिङ्ग ढौकते there is neither similarity of sounds (śruti kṛtamānantaryam) between इ and ३, nor similarity created by any technical rule; therefore ३ लोप has no scope here. It is Bahiranga as well as subsequent to जश् rule (VIII. 2. 39), and therefore *doubly* asiddha; and consequently it does not debar the जश् rule. So when ३ is changed to इ by जश् rule (VIII. 2. 39) in श्वलिङ्ग, then there remains no sort of ānantarya—neither of śruti nor of śāstra.

**रो रि ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ रः, रि ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ रेकस्य रेके परतो लोपो भवति ॥

#### 14. इ is elided before a र ॥

The sūtra is रः रि, and not रोः रि ॥ That is रो रि is the form which रः रि and रोः रि will both assume. रः is the Genitive of इ, and रोः would be the Genitive of रु ॥ The sūtra is not confined to रु only, but to every र in general including रु ॥ Thus नीरक्तम्, बूरक्तम्, where it is simple र् of निर् and दुर्; and अग्नी रथः, and इन्द्र रथः where it is रु (अग्निः रथः, इन्द्रः रथः). The lengthening is by VI. 3. 111. The word पदस्य is understood here, and the Genitive here has the force of विशेषण i. e. a quality, or avayava-shashthi ; i. e. when रेक् is a *portion* of the pada. Thus a रेक् which is not at the end of a pada is also elided. Had the Genitive been construed as sthāna-shashthi, then रेक् would qualify पद्, and the rule would mean “इ should be elided before a र् when at the *end* of a word.” ॥ See VIII. 1. 16. But we have the elision of the *penultimate* र् in अजर्जर्दृ, the second person singular of the Imperfect of the Intensive, and we get the form अजर्जर्दः ॥ See VIII. 2. 37. So also अपास्यः from स्पर्ध in Intensive, Imperfect. The reduplicate is lengthened by VII. 4. 83, the श् is elided, and सिष् is elided by VI. 1. 68, the final श् is changed to र् by VIII. 2. 39, and this र् changed to इ by VIII. 2. 75.

**खरवसानयोर्विसर्जनीयः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ खर, अवसानयोः, विसर्जनीयः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ रेकान्तस्य पदस्य खरि परतो उवसाने च विसर्जनीयादेशो भवति ॥

#### 15. The Visarjanīya is substituted for इ, before a खर consonant or when there is a Pause.

Tha word रः is understood. The visarga is the substitute of इ final in a Pada, before surd consonants and sibilants, or at a Pause,

Thus वृक्षभृत्यति (VIII. 3. 34, VIII. 4. 40), मृक्षभृत्यति, वृक्षस्तरति, मृक्षस्तरति वृक्षष्टकारः, मृक्षष्टकारः, वृक्षष्टीकते, मृक्षष्टीकते, वृक्षश्चिनोति, मृक्षश्चिनोति ॥ Pause:—वृक्षः; मृक्षः ॥

Who do we say “before a खर consonant or at a Pause”? Observe अग्निर्नयति, वायुर्नयति, नार्कुटः (वृ कुर्क्षां भवः), नार्पत्यः (मृपत्तेरपत्तं) ॥ In these two latter,

the Vṛiddhi being considered as Bahiranga, and the ई being the result of such Bahiranga Vṛiddhi, is asiddha, and is consequently not changed to visarga.

The word पदस्य is understood here, and the genitive should be construed here as sthāna-sashṭhī, so that for the final ई of a Pada there is visarga, and not for that ई which is not final.

**रोः सुषि ॥ पदानि ॥ रोः, सुषि ॥**  
वृत्तिः ॥ ह इत्येतत्स्य रेक्ष्य सुषि परतो विसर्जनीयोदेशो भवति ॥

16. Visarjaniya is substituted for the ह called र (and not any other र), before the Locative Plural case-affix सु ॥

Thus पयःसु, सर्पिःसु, वशःसु ॥ The word सुप् is here the Locative Plural affix. Though the ई would have been changed to visarga by the last sūtra also; the making of this a special sūtra is for the sake of niyama. That is, only ह becomes visarga, and not any other ई ॥ Thus गीर्हु, भूर्हु, when the ई is not ह ॥ In पथस् &c, the सु becomes ह by VIII. 2. 66.

**भोभगोअधोअपूर्वस्य योशि ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ भो, भगो, अधो, अपूर्वस्य, यः, अशि ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ भो भगो अधो इत्येवपूर्वस्य अवणेपूर्वस्य च ये रेक्ष्य यकारोदेशो भवति अशि परतः ॥

17. य् is substituted for the ह called र, when it is preceded by भो, भगो, अधो, अ or आ, before an अश् letter (vowels and soft consonants).

Thus भो अञ्च, भगो अञ्च, अधो अञ्च, भो वशति, भगो वशति, अधो वशति ॥ क आस्ते, कथ् आस्ते, ब्राह्मणा वशति, पुरुषा वशति ॥ The य् is elided by VIII. 3. 19, 20, 22 &c. With य्, the forms will be भोयञ्च, भगोयञ्च, अधोयञ्च ॥

Why do we say 'when preceded by भो &c'? Observe अग्निरच, वायुरच ॥ Why do we say 'when followed by a letter of अश् pratyāhāra'? Observe वृक्षः, वृक्षः ॥ No, this is no valid counter-example, because no other word follows the visarga; while some word must follow it because the word sanhitā (VIII. 2. 108) is understood here.

*Ans.*—If this be so, then अश् is employed in this sūtra for the sake of subsequent sūtras. Its employment here is superfluous. For letters other than अश् are खर् ॥ Before a खर् letter, the ई will be changed to visarga by VIII. 3. 15; and the यन्त्र of this rule will be considered as asiddha for the purposes of VIII. 3. 15, so there will necessarily be visarga. Thus अश् serves no purpose in this sūtra, but is for the sake of subsequent ones. Thus in VIII. 3. 22, the word हलि must be qualified by the word अश्, namely those consonants only which are in the class अश् ॥ Before any other consonant there will be no elision of य् ॥ Thus वृक्षं वृक्षति=वृक्षवृद् ॥ The denominative verb from this will be वृक्षवयति ॥ A secondary derivative from this root, with the affix

विच् will be वृक्षव् as in वृक्षव् करोति ॥ Here व् would require elision by VIII. 3. 22, before क्, but it is not so because अशि qualifies इलि ॥

*Obj.*—If so, why is the word हल् used in that sutra VIII. 3. 22, it would have been better to say इशि सर्वेषाम् instead of इलि सर्वेषाम् ॥

*Ans.*—The word हल् is used in that sutra for the sake of the subsequent sutra VIII. 3. 23, which applies to *all* consonants. Had हशि been used in VIII. 3. 22, then in VIII. 3. 23, स्लि ought to have been used.

Moreover अशि is used in this sutra, so that rules VIII. 3. 18, 19 may not apply to वृक्षव् करोति ॥

This sutra applies to ह called इ्, therefore not here प्रातरच, पुनरच ॥

ध्योर्लघुप्रयत्नतरः शाकटायनस्य ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्योः, लघुप्रयत्नतरः, शाक-  
टायनस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वकारयकारयोभौभगोअथोवर्णपूर्वयोः पदान्तयोर्लघुप्रयत्नतर आदेशो भवति, अशि परतः, शाकटा-  
यनस्याचायस्य भवेत् ॥

18. व् and य् (in भगोय् &c and after अ or आ, at the end of a Pada) are pronounced with a lighter articulation before an अश् letter, according to the opinion of Sâkatañaya.

That the effort in pronouncing which is very light is called laghu-prayatna - tara. Effort or articulation is a quality of the person who utters and which is the cause of the utterance of a letter. व् and य् of lighter articulation are substituted for the final व् and य् in भोय्, भगोय्, अथोय्, or after an अ or आ ॥ The lighter व् will replace the heavy व्, and so the lighter य् the heavy य् ॥

Thus भोयच, भगोयच, अथोयच, कायास्ते or क आस्ते, अस्मायुद्धर or अस्मा उद्धर, असावा-  
दित्यः or असा आदित्यः, द्वावच or द्वा अच, द्वावानय or द्वा आनय ॥

The lighter articulation results from the relaxation of the muscles and the organs employed in speech. The places of pronunciation are palate &c, the organs are the root, the middle and the tip of the tongue. When the contact of the tongue with the various places is very light, the articulation is laghu prayatna - tara. In fact, व् and य् are to be slurred over.

लोपः शाकल्यस्य ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपः, शाकल्यस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वकारयकारयोः पदान्तयोर्वर्णपूर्वयोलोपो भवति शाकल्यस्याचार्यस्य भवेनाशि परतः ॥

19. व् and य् preceded by अ or आ and at the end of a pada, are elided before an अश् letter, according to the opinion of Sâkalya.

As क आस्ते or कायास्ते, काक आस्ते or काकयास्ते, अस्मा उद्धर or अस्मायुद्धर, द्वावच or द्वा अच, असावादित्यः or असा आदित्यः ॥

The name of Sâkalya is used to make it an optional rule. Therefore, where there is not the lighter articulation of व् and य् by the last sūtra, there

also in the other alternative the fuller sounds of अ and अ are heard. Thus there are three forms, *heavy* अ and अ, *light* अ and अ and *elision* of अ and अ॥

When अ and अ are preceded by ओ, then there is elision by the next sūtra compulsorily.

**ओतो गार्यस्य ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ ओतः, गार्यस्य ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ ओकारादुन्नरस्य यकारस्य लोपे भवति गार्यस्याचार्यस्य मतेन आशी परतः ॥

20. अ preceded by ओ is elided, according to the opinion of Gārgya, before an अ अ letter.

There can be no अ preceded by ओ, so only अ is taken in explaining the sutra. Thus भो अ अ, भगो अ अ, भो इदम्, भगो इदम् ॥

The making of it a separate sutra, is for the sake of indicating that this is a necessary (*nitya*) rule and not a vibhāshā rule. The name of Gārgya is used simply *honoris causa* ( pujārtha ). The elision of laghu-pryatna अ, which VIII. 3. 19 would have otherwise caused, is hereby prohibited. So that laghu pratyatnatara अ does come also. As भो अ अ or भोय अ, भगो अ अ or भगोय अ, अ अ अ अ and अ अय अ ॥

According to others every kind of अ ( whether heavy or light ) is to be elided: and भोय अ is not valid in their opinion.

**उभि च पदे ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उभि, च पदे ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अवर्णपूर्वयोः योः पादान्तयोलोपे भवति उभि च पदे परतः ॥

21. अ and अ ( preceded by अ or आ, at the end of a pada), and followed by उ, when it is a word, are elided necessarily.

The *particle* उ is a full pada or word. That Particle is meant here by the word उ अ, and not the उ अ, which is a root obtained by the samprasāraṇa of उ अ ॥ Thus स उ एकविशतिः; स उ एकाग्रिः ॥

Why do we use the word पदे “उ when it is a pada”? So that the rule may not apply to उ अ the form assumed by उ अ by samprasāraṇa as उ अ उ अ उ अ ॥ Obj. उ अ could never have meant the form assumed by उ अ, for the samprasāraṇa of उ अ is उ, the अ is merely indicatory. Moreover the maxim of lakṣaṇa-pratipadokta &c, will prevent the inclusion of this उ अ resulting from vocalisation, when there is a separate Particle उ अ ॥

*Ans*.—The word पदे is used here for the sake of the subsequent sūtras like VIII. 3. 32. So that उ अ may come before a word beginning with a vowel, and not before a vowel which is an affix. Thus there is no double उ in परमदण्डना ॥ This is also a *nitya* rule, and not optional. Had it been optional, there would have been no necessity of this aphorism, because VIII. 3. 19, would have been enough.

हलि सर्वेषाम् ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलि, सर्वेषाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलि परतो भोभगोभदोभपूर्वस्य यकारस्य पशन्तस्य लोपो भवति सर्वेषामाचार्याणां मत्तन ॥

22. (The य preceded by भो, भगो, अद्यो, or by अ or आ, being final in a pada, is elided) before a consonant, according to the opinion of all Āchāryas.

Thus भो हसति, भगो हसति, अद्यो हसति; भो याति, भगो याति अयो, याति, वृक्षा हसति ॥ Though the anuvṛitti of इ and य both is present here, yet we have taken य only to the exclusion of इ ॥ Because after भो, भगो and अद्यो there is य only, and never इ; and इ can come only when preceded by अ or आ: the only example of which given by Grammarians is वृक्षइकरोति (VIII. 3. 17). Here इ is not elided, because the word अशि qualifies the word हलि of this sūtra.

Q.—But इ should be elided in वृक्षइहसति, because इ is an अश् letter.

Ans.—There is no such example to be found in any standard author. Moreover Patanjali in his commentary on the Pratyāhāra sūtra लण् says that no words can end in इ, ई, ई, इ or ई ॥ So that the existence of the very word वृक्षइ is doubtful.

The word sarveshām indicates that VIII. 3. 18, even does not apply, and there is no light articulation, but lopa there too.

मो अनुस्वारः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ मः, अनुस्वारः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मकारस्य पशन्तस्यानुस्वार आदेशो भवति हलि परतः ॥

23. The Anusvāra is substituted for म, at the end of a word, before a consonant.

Thus कुण्डं हसति, वनं हसति, कुण्डं याति, वनं याते ॥ The word हलि is understood in this sūtra. Therefore not here, स्वमन्त्र, किमन्त्र ॥ The म must be at the end of pada; therefore not here; गम्यते, रम्यते ॥

नश्चापदान्तस्य झलि ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नः, च, अपदान्तस्य, झलि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नाकारस्य मकारस्य चापदान्तस्यानुस्वारादेशो भवति हलि परतः ॥

24. The Anusvāra is substituted for the न and म, not final in a pada, before all consonants, with the exception of Nasals and semi-vowels.

Thus पयांसि, वशांसि, सर्पीषि, धर्मूषि with न (VII. 1. 72); and आक्रम्यते, आविक्रम्यते, अधिजिग्नासते with म ॥

Why do we say 'not final in a Pada'? Observe राजन् भुद्धक्षव ॥ Why do we say 'before a झलि consonant'? See रम्यते, गम्यते ॥

मो राजि समः कौ ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ मः, राजि, समः, कौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समो मकारस्य मकार आदेशो भवति राजतौ क्रिप्पत्ययान्ते परतः ॥

25. म is substituted for the म of सम, before the word राज् ending with the affix किवप् ॥

Thus समाद्, सामाज्यम् ॥ The substitution of म for भ is for the sake of preventing the anusvāra change (cf VII. 1. 40). Why do we say 'before सञ्ज्'? See संयत् (VI. 4. 40 Vārt). Why do we say 'of सम्'? Observe कि राद् (V. 4. 70). Why do we say 'ending with किवप्'? Observe संराजिता, संराजितुभ्, संराजितव्यम् ॥

The किवप् is added by III. 2. 61, the ज् is changed to प् by VIII. 2. 36, which is changed to ह् at the end of a word, in संसाद् ॥ सामाज्यम् is formed by व्यञ्ज् affix, as it belongs to Brāhmaṇādi class.

हे मपरे वा ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हे, मपरे, वा ॥

यृत्तिः ॥ एकोर्मकारपरे परतो मकारस्य वा मकार अदेशो भवति ॥

यात्तिकप्तः ॥ यवलपरे यवला वा ॥

26. भ् is optionally substituted for म, before ह, which itself is followed by a म ॥

The भ् may be changed to anusvāra or remain unchanged before a word beginning with ह्य ॥ Thus कि or किम् ह्यालयति, 'what does be cause to shake'? कथं ह्यालयति or कथमह्यालयति ॥

*Vart* :—Before ह्य, ह्य, and ह्यु, the preceding भ् may be changed to य, व or ल respectively. Thus कि ह्यः or कियैह्यः, 'what does it matter about yesterday?' कि ह्यालयति or किवैः ह्यालयति 'what does he cause to shake'? कि ह्यावयति or किलैः ह्यावयति 'what gladdens'.

नपरे नः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नपरे, नः, ॥

यृत्तिः ॥ नकारपे हे परतः मकारस्य वा नकारादेशो भवति ॥

27. न् is optionally substituted for म, when it is followed by ह which has a न् after it.

म् becomes न् before a word beginning with ह्य; as किन् ह्यते or कि ह्यते 'what withholds'. कथनह्यते or कथं ह्यते ॥

डणोः कुक् डुक् शारि ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ डूणोः, कुक्, डुक्, शारि ॥

यृत्तिः ॥ डणारणकारयोः पवान्तयोः कुक् डग् इत्येतावागमौ वा भवतः ॥

28. The augment क् is added to a final ड्, and the augment ड् to a final ण्, before a sibilant, optionally.

Thus प्राङ्कृ शेते, or प्राङ् शेते; प्राङ्कृ पष्टः or प्राङ् पष्टः, प्राङ्कृ साये or प्राङ् साये ॥ वण्दृ शेते or वण् शेते ॥

The augments are कुक् and डुक् with an indicatory क्, showing that they are to be added to the end of the prior word (I. 1. 46), and not to the beginning of the second word. In sanhita reading, it would have made no difference practically, whether these augments were added to the end of the first, or the beginning of the second. But they are added to the end of the first, in order to indicate that VIII. 4. 63, will take effect. Thus we have प्राङ्कृ शेते also. This छ change of श would not have taken place had the augment क् been added to

ए॒ of श्वेते; because in श्वेतोऽि (VIII. 4. 63) the श्व॑ letter must be at the end of a pada. So that if क् were added to ए॒ of श्वेते, as कृश्वेते, here too ए॒ follows a श्व॑ letter, but this श्व॑ letter (क्) is not at the *end* of a pada, so ए॒ will not be changed to छ॑ (VIII. 4. 63). Thus ए॒ is not changed to छ॑ in the body of a word, like विरप्शिन्, though ए॒ is a श्व॑ letter. पुरा कूरस्य विसृष्टो विरप्शिन् ॥ विरप्शिन् = महत्, formed with the Preposition वि added to the root रप्, with the उण्डि affix श्विनि ॥

Moreover in प्राकृ साये, the स॒ is not changed to ष॑ by VIII. 3. 59. Had the augment क् been added to साये, as कृसाये, the स॒ would have been changed to ष॑, as प्राकृ ष्वाये, for then VIII. 3. 111, would not have applied, as स॒ was no longer at the beginning of a pada.

Moreover in वण्ट॑ साये, the स॒ is not changed to ष॑ because of the prohibition of VIII. 4. 42. Had इ॑ been the augment of साये, as इ॑साये, then there would have been the change of स॒ to ष॑ by VIII. 4. 41.

डः॑ सि धुद् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ डः॑, सि धुद् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नकारान्ताप्यशादुत्तरस्य सकारादैः पदस्य वा धुडागमो भवति ॥

29. After a word ending in इ॑, there may optionally be added the augment ध॑ to a word beginning with स॒ ॥

Thus श्वलिद॑ साये or श्वलिद॑ साये, मधुलिद॑ साये or मधुलिद॑ साये ॥

The word डः॑ is to be construed as Ablative singular, and not Genitive singular of इ॑, because of the maxim उभयनिर्देशे पञ्चमी निर्देशो बलीयान् ॥

Q.—Why it is धुद् and not धुक्ष, in other words, why is this augment added to the beginning of the second word and not to the end of the first?

Ans.—This is done in order to prevent the ष्ट॑ change by VIII. 4. 41. But being at the beginning of the second word, VIII. 4. 42 would prevent this change. श्वलिद॑+साये = श्वलिद॑साये, (VIII. 4. 41) but the correct form is श्वलिद॑ साये ॥ For the इ॑ of श्वलिद॑ is डः॑ substituted by VIII. 2. 31, which becomes इ॑ by VIII. 2. 39, for the ध॑ of the augment, त॑ is substituted by VIII. 4. 55, and for इ॑ there is इ॑ by the same rule.

नदच॑ ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ नः॑, च॑ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नकारान्ताप्यशादुत्तरस्य सकारस्य वा धुडागमो भवति ॥

30. After a word ending in न॑, धुद् is optionally the augment to a word beginning with स॒ ॥

Thus भवान॑ साये, महान॑ साये or भवान॑ साये, महान॑ साये ॥ The ष्ट॑ of the augment becomes त॑ by VIII. 4. 55. This त॑ is asiddha (VIII. 2. 1), and therefore न॑ is not changed to ष्ट॑ by VIII. 3. 7. This is the reason why the augment is exhibited as धुद् and not द्वुद् ॥ In sūtra VIII. 3. 29 द्वुद् would have done as well but not so here. This view of the Kāśikā, however, is not approved by Padamanjari. The न॑ can never be changed to ष्ट॑ here, because त॑ is followed

by स् which is not an अ॒ letter. The word अ॒प्तेर is understood in VIII. 3. 7. In fact, तु॒द् would have been a better augment.

शि तु॒क् ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शि, तु॒क् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नकारस्य पशन्तस्य शकारे परतो वा तुगागमो भवति ॥

31. The augment त् may optionally be added to a word ending in न्, when a word beginning with श follows.

Thus भवाश्च छेते ॥ The augment is added to the end of the preceding word, and not to the beginning of the second word, in order to change श into छ ॥ In fact, the augment तु॒द् added to the second would have been as good as तु॒क्, namely both are त्; but then छ change would not have taken place.

*Obj.*—If this be so, then why न् is not changed to ण्, since it is no longer final in a pada, when तु॒क् is added to it, in कुर्वश्च छेते ॥

*Ans.*—This is to be thus explained. The sūtra स्तोः इच्छुना इच्छुः (VIII. 4. 40) should be divided into two parts, in order to prevent ण change. Thus the first part will be स्तोः इच्छुना, which will mean that स् and तु followed by श and च्छ will not cause the change of न to ण ॥ The next sūtra will be इच्छुः, which will mean that the preceding स् and तु are changed to श and च्छ respectively.

ङ्मो हस्वादचि ङ्मुणित्यम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ङ्मः, हस्वात्, आचि, ङ्मु॒द्, नित्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हस्वात्परो यो ङ्म् तदन्तात्पदादुत्तरस्याचो ङ्मुडागमो भवति नित्यम् ॥ ङ्मणेभ्यो यथासंख्यं डणगा भवति ॥

32. After a word ending in ङ्, ण् or न् which is preceded by a light vowel, the same consonant ङ्, ण् or न् is added invariably at the beginning of the next word, which commences with a vowel.

The word ङ्मः is in the Ablative singular here; and हस्वात् qualifies ङ्मः; and ङ्म् itself qualifies the word पदस्य understood, and thus there is tadanta-viddhi. Though the word पदस्य (VIII. 1. 16) is in the Genitive singular, yet it should be converted here into Ablative singular, because of its connection with ङ्मः ॥ आचि is in the Locative singular, but should be construed as Genitive singular here: it is exhibited in the 7th case for the sake of brevity, and of the subsequent sūtras. ङ्म् is a pratyāhāra meaning ङ्, ण् and न्; and so also ङ्मु॒द् is a pratyāhāra containing the three augments ङ्मु॒द्, ण्मु॒द् and नु॒द् ॥

In other words ङ् is augment after ङ्, ण् after ण् and न् after न्; or that these letters are doubled practically. Thus ङ्मु॒द् is the augment after a word ending in ङ्, as प्रत्यहास्ते ॥ ण्मु॒द् is the augment after a word ending in ण्, as

वण्णास्ते ॥ तुद् is the augment after a word ending in न्, as कुर्वन्नास्ते, कुर्वन्नोचत्, कुर्वन्नास्ते, कुर्वन्नोचत् ॥

Why do we say 'ending in ड, ण or न'? See स्वमास्ते ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by a light vowel'? Observe प्राङ्गास्ते, भवानास्ते ॥ Why do we say "followed by a vowel"? Observe प्रस्यङ्गकरोति ॥

The Mahabhāṣya thus comments on this aphorism :—

*Vārtika*—डमुटि पशादिमहणम् “The डमुट् augment is added to a vowel which stands at the beginning of a word”. So that in इण्डन्+आ (Ins. Sing.), तुद् is not added to आ, because it is not the beginning of a Pada. Then should this vārtika be held to be necessary? No, because the word पशात् is understood here: so तुद् will not come in इण्डना ॥ But then it will come in परमपशांडन्+आ ॥ Because it is a compound of two nouns, and though the case-affixes have been elided, yet इण्डन् is here a Pada by reason of pratyaya lakshana; and hence there should be तुद् here added to आ ॥ Ans. This is no valid objection. इण्डन् is not here a Pada, on the maxim उत्तरपदत्वे चापशादिविधौलुमता लुप्तं प्रत्ययलक्षणं न भवति “When an affix has been elided by लुक् or लुप्, the pratyaya-lakshana rule will not apply, when the object of it is to give the designation of Pada to the second member of a compound, with the exception of the rule applying to the beginning of a Pada”. Thus in परमपशांडन् the word इण्डन् is not treated as a पद्, because the rule to be applied is to the *end* here. But the second member of a compound is treated like a pada, when a rule is to be applied to the beginning of a Pada. Thus in इधिसेचौ, the second member सेच् is considered as a Pada for the purposes of the rule सात् पशाचोः (VIII. 3. 111), and the स is not changed to ष ॥ This view proceeds upon the supposition that the word पशात् governs this sūtra. But the anuvṛitti of पशात् ceased with VIII. 1. 27, as we stated before. How are we then to get out of this difficulty? Are we to make the above vārtika necessary? No: because the anuvṛitti of पैदे from VIII. 3. 21 runs into this sūtra. So that the sūtra means अजाहौ पैदे डमुट् भवति ॥ “The augment डमुट् is added to a vowel with which a Pada commences”. Not therefore to the case-affix आ in इण्डना ॥

मय उओ ओ वा ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ मयः, उओः, ओः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मय उत्तरस्य ओओ वा वकारादेशो भवति अच्च परतः ॥

33. व् is optionally the substitute of the Particle उ, when it is preceded by a मय् consonant (all consonants with the exception of semivowels, sibilants, ह and अ), and is followed by a vowel.

Thus शष्टु अस्तु वेदिः or शम्बस्तु वेदिः, तद् उ अस्य रेतः or तद्वस्य रेतः, किम् उ आवपनम् or किम्बावपनम् ॥ The उ is a Pragṛihya by I. 1. 14, and therefore would have remained unchanged, this ordains व् optionally. This व् being considered as Siddha, the म् is not changed to anusvāra in किम्बावपनम्, शम्बस्तु &c, by VIII. 3. 23.

When this व is followed by इति, and preceded by a मय् consonant, then by I. i. 17, it is optionally प्रगृह्य, and it may be replaced by ऽँ ॥ When it is not a pragrihya, then it is changed to व् by अणादेश (VI. i. 77), or to व् by the present sūtra. In the case of अणोदेश व्, there is anusvāra by VIII. 3. 23, as किंविति ॥ When it is a Pragrihya, then it is changed to व् by the present sūtra as किन्विति or किष्ठ इति ॥ So also with ऽँ substitute, where the व् will be nasal : as किन्विति, or ऽँ will remain unchanged, as किम् ऽँ इति ॥ Thus we have five forms with इति ॥

**विसर्जनीयस्य सः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विसर्जनीयस्य, सः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ विसर्जनीयस्य स कार अणोदेशो भवति खरि परतः ॥

34. स् is the substitute of a visarga, when a hard consonant (खर्) follows.

The word खरि is understood here. Thus वृक्षश्लादयति, वृक्षश्लादयति, वृक्षश्लादकारः, वृक्षश्लादकारः, वृक्षस्थकारः, वृक्षश्लिनोति, वृक्षश्लिनोति, वृक्षश्लीकते, वृक्षश्लीकते, वृक्षस्तरति, वृक्षस्तरति ॥

By VIII. 3. 15, the व् was changed to visarga before a hard consonant, or at the end of a Pause. In the present sūtra, no special cause being mentioned, the स् change would take place, not only before a hard consonant, but at the Pause also, i. e. in वृक्षः, वृक्षः also. This however, is not the case, because the word संहिताचाम् governs this sūtra ; so the स् change will be in Sanhitā only, and not in Pause, moreover we read the anuvṛitti of खरि here and so prevent the स् change in Pause.

**शर्पेरे विसर्जनीयः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानी ॥ शर्पेरे, विसर्जनीयः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ शर्पेरे खरि परतो विसर्जनीयस्य विसर्जनीयोदेशो वभवति ॥

35. The visarga is the substitute of visarga, when it is followed by a hard consonant (खर्) which itself is followed by a sibilant (शर्) ॥

The word शर्पेरे is a Bahuvrīhi, meaning that which is followed by शर् ॥ In other words, when a sibilant follows a hard consonant, the preceding visarga remains unchanged. Thus शाश्वः श्वरम्, पुरुषः श्वरम्, अज्ञिः प्लातम्, वासः क्लौमम्, पुरुषः स्त्रः, यनाधनः क्षोभणश्वर्णीनाम् ॥

Though the sūtra could have been shortened by saying शर्पेरे न ; yet the longer form is used, in order to indicate that the jihvāmulya and upadhamāniya changes also do not take place, in cases like अज्ञिः प्लातम्, वासः क्लौमम् ॥

**वा शरि ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, शरि ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ विसर्जनीयस्य विसर्जनीयोदेशो वा भवति शरि पेरे ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ खर्पेरेशरि वा लेपो वक्तव्यः ॥

36. The visarga is optionally the substitute of visarga, when a sibilant follows.

As वृक्षः शेते or वृक्षशेते, पृक्षः शेते or पृक्षशेते, वृक्षः षण्डे or वृक्षषण्डे, वृक्षः साये or वृक्षस्साये ॥ Cf. VIII. 4. 40, 41, for श and ष ॥

*Vart* :—When the sibilant is followed by a hard consonant, there is optionally the elision of the preceding visarga. As वृक्षा स्थातारः or वृक्षाः स्थातारः or वृक्षास्त्थातारः ॥

कुप्रो~~॒~~क~~॒~~पौ च ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुप्रोः~~॒~~क~~॒~~पौ, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मणपर्वग्योः परतो विसर्जनीयस्य वथासंख्य~~॒~~क~~॒~~प इत्यतावदेशौ भवतः ॥

37. ~~॒~~क and ~~॒~~प are optionally substituted for the visarga, when followed by a hard guttural or a hard labial.

Thus वृक्ष ~~॒~~करोति or वृक्षः करोति, वृक्ष ~~॒~~खनति or वृक्षः खनति, वृक्ष ~~॒~~पचति or वृक्षः पचति, वृक्ष ~~॒~~फलति or वृक्षः फलति ॥ The ~~॒~~क and ~~॒~~प in ~~॒~~क and ~~॒~~प are for the sake of pronunciation only. The substitutes are the Jihvamūliya and the Upadhmāniya : two lost sibilants belonging to the class of ~~॒~~क and ~~॒~~प respectively.

When the rule VIII. 3. 34. does not apply, then this sūtra will apply ; and will debar that. But VIII. 3. 35. will not be debarred. As वासः शौमस्, अद्विद्वातम् ॥ There is no vipratischedha between VIII. 3. 35. and 37, because of the asiddhahood of one with regard to the other. (VIII. 2. 1). In fact, every rule in these three chapters stands by itself, and ignores the *existence* of the subsequent rule. Hence VIII. 3. 35. would not have been debarred by VIII. 3. 37.

To get this, some divide this sūtra into two :—(1) कुप्रोः “The visarga is the substitute of visarga before a guttural or labial which is followed by a sibilant.” (2) ~~॒~~क ~~॒~~पौच् The jihvāmūliya and upadhmāniya are substitutes of a visarga before a guttural and a labial in every other case.”

सोपदादौ ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः, अ-पदादौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सकार आदेशो भवति विसर्जनीयस्य कुप्रोपदाद्योः परतः पाशकल्पककाम्येषु ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सोपदादावित्यनव्ययस्योति वक्तव्यम् ॥ रोरेव काये नान्यस्येति नियमार्थं वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उपधानीयस्य कर्वगं परतः सकार आदेशो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

38 स is the substitute of a visarga before an affix beginning with a hard guttural or labial.

The word अपदादौ means “when the guttural and labial are not at the beginning of a *word*,” in other words, when they stand at the beginning of an affix. This is possible only before the affixes पाश, कल्प, क, and काम्य ॥ Thus पयस्ताशम् (V. 3. 47); पयस्तकल्पम्, यशस्तकल्पम्, (V. 3. 67), पयस्तं, यशस्तम्, (V. 3. 70); पयस्तकाम्यति, यशस्तकाम्यति (III. 1. 9).

Why do we say ‘when not at the beginning of a word’? Observe पय~~॒~~ कामयते, पय~~॒~~पिबति ॥

*Vart* :—Prohibition must be stated, when the visarga belongs to an Indeclinable : as, प्रातः कल्पम्, पुनः कल्पम् ॥

*Vārt* :—The visarga which comes from *ह* is only changed to *स* before काम्य, and not any other visarga. As पयस्काम्यात्, and यशस्काम्यति ; but not here, गीःकाम्यति धूःकाम्यति ॥

*Vārt* :—*स* is the substitute of the Upadhmāniya when followed by a guttural. The root उद्ज् (आज्वे Tud 20) has Upadhmāniya as its penultimate : though it is written in the Dhātupāṭha as उद्ज् the द् only represents the *प्* of *प्*, and is not to be pronounced. This *प्* is changed to *स*, when the final ज् is changed to a guttural, as उ स् ग, and then this *स्* is changed to द्, as in अभ्युदगः, समुदः ॥

These words, however, may be derived from the root गम् with the Prepositions अभि, उत्, and सम् उत्, by adding the affix द् ॥

इणः षः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ इणः, षः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपवाशविति वर्तते । इण उत्तरस्य विसर्जनीयस्य बकारादेशो भवति कुट्रोरपवाद्योः परतः पाशक-  
ष्पककाम्येषु ॥

39. ष् is the substitute of that visarga, which is preceded by इ or उ and is followed by an affix beginning with a hard guttural or a labial.

The word अपवाशौ is understood here also. The affixes meant are the same पाश, कल्प, क, and काम्य ॥ Thus सर्पिष्पाशम्, यज्ञुष्पाशम्, सर्पिष्कल्पम्, यज्ञुष्कल्पम्, सर्पिष्कम्, यज्ञुष्कम् ; सर्पिष्काम्यति, यज्ञुष्काम्यति ॥

Why do we say ‘by an affix’? Observe अग्निः करोति, वायुः करोति, अग्निः पचति, वायुः पचति ॥

The affix should begin with a guttural or a labial. Therefore not here, सर्पिस्ते, यज्ञुस्ते ॥

In the succeeding sūtras, the anuvṛitti of स from VIII. 3. 39 and of इणः षः from this, are both current. The visarga will be changed to ष् if preceded by इ or उ, otherwise it will be स ॥

According to some, this sūtra ordains ष् in the room of the स taught in the preceding sūtra, and not of visarga : and so also in the following sūtras.

नमस्पुरसेर्गत्योः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ नमस्-पुरसोः, गत्योः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नमस्पुरस् इत्येतयोर्गीतिसंज्ञकयो विसर्जनीयस्य सकारादेशो भवति कुप्तोः परतः ॥

40. For the visarga of नमस् and पुरस् there is substituted स् before a hard guttural or a labial, when these words are Gati (I. 4. 67 and 74).

Thus नमस्कर्ता, नमस्कर्तुम्, नमस्कर्त्तव्यम् ; पुरस्कर्ता पुरस्कर्तुम्, पुरस्कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

Why do we say “when they are Gati”? Observe पूरकरोति, पुरो करोति, पुरः करोति ॥ Here पुरः is a noun, Accusative Plural of पूरः ॥

नमस् is Gati by I. 4. 74, and पुरस् is Gati by I. 4. 67. The anuvṛitti of अपवाशौ ceases.

इतुपधस्य चाप्रत्ययस्य ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इदू-उदू-उपधस्य, च, अ-प्रत्यय ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ इकारोपधस्य उकारोपधस्य चाप्रत्ययस्य विसर्जनीयस्य षकार आदेशो भवति कुप्तोः परतः ॥  
चार्चिकम् ॥ पुम्हुसेाःप्रतिषेधो वन्त्यव्यः ॥

41. ष् is substituted, before a hard guttural or a labial, for the visarga which is preceded by इ or उ, and is not part of an affix.

This applies to the visarga of निई्, दुर्, बहिर्, अविस्, चतुर् and प्रादुर् ॥ Thus निष्कृतम्, निष्पीतम्, दुष्कृतम्, दुष्पीतम्, बहिस्, बहिष्कृतम्, बहिष्पीतम्, आविस्, आविष्कृतम्, आविष्पीतम्, चतुष्कृतम्, चतुष्पक्षपालम्, चतुष्कृतलम्, प्रादुष्कृतम्, प्रादुष्पीतम् ॥

Why do we say 'when not belonging to an affix'? Observe अग्निः करोति, वायुः करोति ॥ How do you explain मातुः करोति, पितुः करोति? For here in पितुः &c, the स् of the affix is elided by VIII. 2. 24, and the र् of पितुर्+स् is changed to visarga; this is not the visarga of an affix, and ought to be changed to ष् ॥

*Ans.*—The inclusion of the word भातुष्पुचः in Kaskādi class (VIII. 3. 48) indicates by implication, that ष् change does not take place of this visarga in पितुः, मातुः &c: the only exception being भातुः ॥ The reason of this may be that the visarga here does not follow a simple उ, but an ekādeśa उ (VI. 1. 111).

*Vārt* :—Prohibition must be stated in the case of पुम् and मुहस्; as पुस्कामा, मुहस्कामा ॥

*Vārt* :—वृद्धिभूतानां षत्वं वन्त्यव्यम् । The visarga is changed to ष् even when इ or उ are vṛiddhied; as नैष्कृल्यम्, शैष्कृल्यम् ॥

*Vārt* :—प्लृतानां तादौ च ॥ The visarga is changed to ष् even when इ or उ are plutā, and then before dentals as well as gutturals and labials. Thus निष्कृलम्, दुष्कृलम् (VIII. 2. 86 for plutā). दुष्पुरुषः, वहीष्टरः ॥

These last two vārtikas may be dispensed with, because Vṛiddhi and Pluta are Bahiranga change, and so the visarga will be changed to ष् in these cases also by the sūtra itself; except so far as उ is concerned.

तिरसोन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिरसः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिरसो विसर्जनीयस्यात्यतरस्यां सकारादेशो भवति कुप्तोः परतः ॥

42. The visarga of the Gati तिरस् is optionally changed to स before a hard guttural or a labial.

Thus तिरस्कर्त्ता, तिरस्कर्त्तुष्, तिरस्कर्त्तव्यम्, or तिरः कर्त्ता, तिरः कर्त्तुष्, तिरः कर्त्तव्यम् ॥ The word गतेः is understood here also. Therefore no option is allowed here, तिरः कृत्वा काण्डं गतेः, where तिरस् does not mean 'disappearance'. (I. 4. 72).

द्विस्त्रिश्वतुरिति कृत्वोर्थे ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विः-त्रिः-चतुर्, इति, कृत्वोर्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व इति संबद्धते । द्विस् त्रिस् चतुर् इत्येतेषां कृत्वोर्थे वर्त्तमानानां विसर्जनीयस्य षकार आदेशो भवति अन्यतरस्यां कुप्तोः परतः ॥

43. ष् is optionally the substitute of the visargas of द्विस्, त्रिस् and चतुर् when they are used as Numeral adverbs, (before a hard guttural and labial).

The affix मुच् (स्) is added to the three words dvi, tri and chatur in the sense of कृत्वासु by V. 4. 18.

As द्विः करोति or द्विष्करोति, त्रिः करोति or त्रिष्करोति, चतुः करोति or चतुष्करोति, द्विः पचति or द्विष्पचति, त्रिः पचति or त्रिष्पचति, चतुः पचति or चतुष्पचति ॥

Why do we say 'when used in the sense of कृत्वासु or Numeral adverbs'? Observe चतुष्कपालम्, चतुष्कण्टकम्, where ष् is compulsory by VIII. 3. 41. चतुर्षु कपालेषु संस्कृतः (IV. 2. 16 and IV. 1. 88). This sūtra is an example of ubhayatra-vibhāshā. With regard to चतुर् the visarga is a non-affix visarga, and hence VIII. 3. 41, would have made ष् compulsory, this makes it optional. With regard to द्विस् and त्रिस् the visarga is that of an affix (मुच् or स् V. 4. 18), and hence VIII. 3. 41, would not have applied. Thus with regard to चतुर् it is a Prāpta-vibhāshā, and with regard to द्विस् and त्रिस् it is an Aprāpta-vibhāshā.

Why have we used the words 'dvis, tris and chatur'? Objector's answer: so that the rule may not apply to पञ्चकृत्वः करोति, the visarga of kṛitvasuch (V. 4. 17) is not changed to ष् ॥

The anuvṛitti of उ and इ is understood here from VIII. 3. 41: so that the visarga must be preceded by इ and उ for the application of this rule. In पञ्चकृत्वः the visarga is preceded by अ, and so there is no applicability of this rule.

In fact, by reading the anuvṛitti of इदुपथा into this sūtra, and qualifying the visarga by the further epithet of 'belonging to a word that has the sense of कृत्वासु'; we may dispense with the words द्विष्करुरिति from the sūtra. The simple sūtra कृत्वोर्ये would have been enough. For there are no other Numerals that have a penultimate इ or उ, except these three. The chief objection to this view is, that in चतुर् the visarga is not the affix मुच्, but a portion of the word (See V. 4. 18): so the rule would not apply to chatur, if this word were not expressly mentioned.

The various objections and their solutions are given in the following verses.

कृत्वसुजये षट्वं ब्रवीति कस्मा चतुष्कपोल मा  
षट्वं विभाषया भून्नु सिद्धं तत्र पूर्वेण ॥  
सिद्धे हायं विधत्ते चतुरः षट्वं यशपि कृत्वोर्ये ॥  
लुप्ते कृत्वोर्धीये रेफस्य विसर्जनीयो हि ॥  
एवं सति त्विदानीं द्विष्करुरित्यनेन किं कार्यम् ॥  
अन्यो हि नेदुपथः कृत्वोर्धः कम्भिदप्यास्ति ॥  
अक्रियमाणे भग्ने विसर्जनीयस्तदा विशेष्येत ॥

चतुरो न सिद्ध्यति तथा रेफस्य विसर्जनीयो हि ॥  
तस्मिंस्तु क्रियमाणे युक्तं चतुरो विशेषणं भवति ॥

प्रकृतं पदं तदन्तं तस्यापि विशेषणं न्याय्यम् ॥

*Kārikā* :—कृत्वसुजर्थे वत्वं ब्रवीति कस्मात्? Why does the author teach वत्वं when these words have the sense of Numeral-adverbs? In other words, why the word कृत्वोर्थे is used at all in the sūtra? There is no necessity of using it at all, because द्विस्, त्रिस् are clearly adverbs as they are formed by the affix सुच् (V. 4. 18) and चतुर् being read in their company will also denote the *adverb* chatur, in which सुच् has been elided (V. 4. 18). So that all these three words are सुच्-formed, and all सुच्-formed words have the sense of Kṛtvatasuch. One answer to this is that the rule of साहचर्य does not always hold good, as in दीर्घीवेवीदाम् (I. 1.6), the words दीर्घी and वेवी are verbs, while इट् is an augment. Though therefore द्विस् and त्रिस् are kṛtvorthā words, yet चतुर् need not be so: and may be a simple Numeral. *Ans.* चतुष्कपाले मा वत्वं विभाषया भूत् ॥ The word कृत्वोर्थे is employed to indicate that there should be no optional वत्वं in चतुष्कपालं ॥ The वत्वं here is compulsory by VIII. 3. 41. *Q.* ननु सिद्धं तत्र पूर्वेण ॥ Well this would be valid by the previous sūtra (VIII. 3. 41). That is, let in चतुष्कपाल also there be optional वत्वं, as चतुःकपाल and चतुष्कपाल ॥ Now rule VIII. 3. 41 will apply to चतुःकपाल and will change this visarga to ष, so that with regard to चतुष्कपाल, we shall have *always* ष ॥ *Ans.* सिद्धे हयं विधत्ते चतुर् वत्वं यदापि कृत्वोर्थे, लुप्ते कृत्वोर्थीये रेफस्य विसर्जनीयो हि । If VIII. 3. 41 be considered as applying here (siddha), then when the affix सुच् is elided after चतुर्, and the र् is changed to visarga, then the adverb चतुः also ends with a non-affix visarga, and will come under the compulsory वत्वं rule of VIII. 3. 41; for though we may have optionally two forms as चतुः करोति and चतुष्करोति, by the present sūtra, yet in the former the visarga would be changed to ष by VIII. 3. 41. Hence the necessity of employing the word कृत्वोर्थे ॥ *Q.* But we say that the इ in the adverb चतुर् is that of सुच्, thus चतुर्+सू=चतुर्+इ (VIII. 2. 66)=चतु+इ (the first इ is elided by VIII. 3. 14)=चतुर्; and that this इ when changed to visarga, will be an affix-visarga and so VIII. 3. 41 will not apply to the *adverb* चतुर् ॥ *Ans.* No. For इ would require to be lengthened by VI. 3. 111. and the form would be चतूर् ॥

एवं सति स्विदार्नीं द्विस्त्रिचतुरित्यनेन किं कार्यम् ॥ If this be so, then what is the purpose served by using the words द्विस् त्रिचतुरिति in the aphorism? The simple sūtra कृत्वोर्थे would have been enough. Because (अन्योहि नेतुदुपधः कृत्वोर्थः कदिच्चरप्यत्ति) there are no other numeral adverbs than these three which have a penultimate इ or उ ॥

अक्रियमाणे ग्रहणे विसर्जनीयस्तदा विशेष्येत् । If we do not use the words dvis, tris, chaturiti in the sūtra, then the word kṛtvorthe would qualify the word visarga, and the sūtra would mean "the visarga of an affix which has the sense of kṛtvatasuch is changed optionally to ष" ॥ The result of this will be

that ( चतुरो न सिध्यति तपारंकस्य विसर्जनयोहि ) it will not apply to चतुः where the visarga is that of ए and not of the affix मुच् ॥

Therefore by using dvis &c, the word कृत्वोर्ये would qualify चतुर् (तस्मिन् तु किंवाणे युक्तं चतुरो विशेषणं भवति) ॥

*Ans.*—प्रकृतं पदं तस्तं तस्यापि, विशेषणं नाद्यथ ॥ Though we may not use dvis &c, the word कृत्वortha will not qualify visarga, but will qualify the word पद whose context runs here; and the rule of तस्तं will apply; so that the sūtra कृत्वोऽर्थे will mean, पदस्य कृत्वोर्ये वर्तमानस्य यो विसर्जनीयः, तस्य सकारः षकारो व ॥ “The visarga of that word which is employed in the sense of a Numeral adverb, is optionally changed to स् or ए before a guttural or a labial, provided that such visarga is preceded by इ or उ”.

The above is the opinion of Patanjali, who considers the words dvis &c, as redundant. The Kāśikā however controverts this opinion. According to him, if these words were not used in the sūtra, then the mere sūtra कृत्वोऽर्थे would be insufficient for the visarga of चतुः though used as an adverb, the षष्ठ्य will be compulsory by VIII.3.41; for the present sūtra will be considered as asiddha or non-existent for the purposes of VIII. 3. 41, (See VIII. 2. 1). But this however may be answered by saying that the rule of पूर्वचासिद्धम् applies in these chapters, with this modification, one subject-matter is considered as asiddha with regard to another subject-matter gone before; but one aphorism is not considered asiddha with regard to a previous aphorism, when belonging to the same subject matter. (प्रकारे प्रकारणमसिद्धं न योगे योगः) ॥ Therefore the present sūtra VIII. 3. 43, would not be considered asiddha with regard to VIII. 3. 41. Or the present sūtra may be considered as an apavāda to VIII. 3. 41: and an apavāda is never asiddha with regard to an utsarga.

इसुसोः सामर्थ्ये ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ इस्-उसोः, सामर्थ्ये ॥

वृणिः ॥ इस् उस् इत्येतयोर्विसर्जनीयस्यान्यतरस्यां षकारादेशो भवति सामर्थ्ये कुप्रीः परतः ॥

44. For the visarga of words ending in इस् and उस्, before a hard guttural or labial, there is optionally substituted ष, when the two words stand in correlation with one another.

The ष is understood here. Thus सर्पिष्करोति or सर्पिः करोति, यज्ञः करोति or यंतुष्करोति ॥

Why do we say ‘when the two words are correlated’? Observe तिष्ठतु सर्पिः, पित्र त्वमुदकम्, where सर्पिः is not in construction with पित्र, but with तिष्ठतु ॥

The word सामर्थ्ये here means अपेक्षा or mutual relation of two words; and not “having the same meaning”, or it may mean both. In fact सामर्थ्य is equivalent to आकाङ्क्षा i. e. the syntactical want of another word to complete the sense. It does not here mean ‘compound’. For it being a पदविधिः the word समर्थः is

understood here (समर्थः पदविधिः II. 1. 1). The employment of the word सामर्थ्य here indicates that it is a different sāmarthyā from that of II. 1. 1. It does not denote एकार्थभावः or एकार्थ् which is the sāmarthyā of compounds where *two or more* words denote *one* object. The sāmarthyā here means vyapekshā, which is thus defined नानाभूतयोः, पदार्थयो यौं शब्दौ वर्तेत, तयो यौं योगः “the syntactical union of two words expressing two different ideas”.

नित्यं समासे अनुच्चरपदस्थस्य ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, समासे, अनुच्चरपदस्थस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इसुसोरिति वर्तते । समासविषये इसुसोरितिसर्जनीयस्यानुच्चरपदस्थस्य नित्यं पत्वं भवति कुप्तोः परतः ॥

45. The visarga of an इस् or उस्-ending word, which is not preceded by any other word, is invariably changed to ष् in a compound, when followed by a hard guttural or labial.

The words इस् and उस् are understood here. Thus सर्पिष्कुण्डिका, धनुष्कपालम्, सर्पिष्पानम्, धनुष्कलम् ॥

Why do we say when it is not preceded by another word? Observe परमसर्पिः कुण्डिका, परमधनुः कपालम् ॥ The option even of the last sūtra does not apply to these examples.

Q.—The word सर्पिष् is derived from the root सृष् by adding the Uṇādi affix इसि (Uṇ II. 109), and यज्ञस् by the Uṇādi affix उसि (Uṇ II. 117), therefore on the maxim प्रत्ययमहेण &c, the word इसुसोः would denote the mere forms सर्पिष् and यज्ञस् and not forms like परमसर्पिष् &c. then what is the necessity of employing the word अनुच्चरपदस्थस्य in the sūtra?

The very employment of the word anuttara-pada-sthasya in this sūtra, is an indicator (jñāpaka), that the restriction of the following maxim does not apply with regard to the affixes इस् and उस्: प्रत्ययमहेण यस्मात् स विहित स्तवोदस्तवन्तस्य ग्रहणम् “an affix denotes, whenever it is employed in Grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that affix has been added and ends with the affix itself”. This maxim not applying, we have परमसर्पिष्करोति or परमसर्पिः करोति by the previous sūtra VIII. 3. 44.

Q.—Why is not there option in the case of compounds also by the previous sūtra?

*Ans* :—Because the word सामर्थ्य there means व्योपक्षा, and therefore does not apply to compounds.

अतः कुकमिकंसकुम्भपात्रकुशाकर्णीष्वनव्ययस्य ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, कुकमि-कंस-कुम्भ-पात्र-कुशा-कर्णीषु, अन्-अव्ययस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकाराद्वच्चरस्य अनव्ययविसर्जनीयस्य समासेऽनुच्चरपदस्थस्य नित्यं सकारोदशो भवति कुकमि-कंस कुम्भ पात्र कुशा कर्णी इत्यतेषुपरतः ॥

46. For the visarga of a word ending in अस्, with the exception of an Indeclinable, स् is substituted in a compound, when a form of कृ and कम्, or the words कंस कुम्भ, पात्र, कुशा and कर्णी follow, and the first word is not preceded by another word.

Thus कृः—अयस्कारः, पयस्कारः (III. 2. 1) कम्ः—अयस्कामः, पयस्कामः, कंसः—अयस्कंसः, पयस्कंसः, कुम्भः, अयस्कुम्भः पयस्कुम्भः || So also अयस्कुम्भी पयस्कुम्भी, on the maxim प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशेषस्थापि याहणे भवति ॥ पात्रः—अयस्पात्रम्, पयस्पात्रम्, अयस्पात्री, पयस्पात्री ॥ कुशा—अयस्कुशा, पयस्कुशा ॥ कर्णी—अयस्कर्णी, पयस्कर्णी ॥ The form शुनस्कर्णः belongs to Kaskādi class (VIII. 3. 48).

Why do we say अतः “a visarga preceded by short अ, or the visarga of the word ending in अ?”? See गीकारः धूकारः ॥ Why do we say ‘preceded by short अ’? Observe भाकरणम् ॥ The form भास्करः belongs to Kaskādi class (VIII. 3. 48). See also III. 2. 2.

Why do we say “with the exception of an Indeclinable”? Observe इवःकारः, पुनःकारः ॥

The word समासे is understood here also. Therefore not here; यथः करोति पयः करोति, यथोः कामयते ॥

The word अनुच्चरपदस्थस्य is also to be read in this. Therefore not here, परमपयः कारः, परमपयः कामः ॥

Q. The word कंस need not have been taken, because it is a form of the root कम्, since it is derived from कम् by adding the Uṇādi affix स (III. 62 Uṇ)?

*Ans.*—The employment of कंस indicates the existence of the following maxim :—उणाद्योऽव्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि “Words which end with उण् &c. are crude-forms that do not undergo or cause such operations as would depend on their etymological formation.”

अधः शिरसी पदे ॥४७॥ पदानि ॥ अधः-शिरसी, पदे ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ अधस् शिरस् इत्यतयोर्विसर्जनीयस्य समासेऽनुभरपदस्थस्य सकार आदेशो भवति पदशब्दे परतः ॥

47. For the visarga of अधस् or शिरस् when not preceded by another word, and followed by the word पद in composition with it, there is substituted स् ॥

Thus अधस्पदम्, शिरस्पदम् ॥ अधस्पदी, शिरस्पदी ॥

The word समासे is understood in this, therefore not here अधः पदम् ॥

The word अनुच्चरपदस्थस्य is also understood here. Therefore not in the following परमशिरः पदम् ॥

The word अधस्पदम् is a compound formed under Mayūravyansa-kādi class.

**कस्कादिषु च ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कस्कादिषु, च ॥**  
 वृत्तिः ॥ कस्क इत्येवमारदिषु च विसर्जनीयस्य सकारः पकारो वा यथायोगमादेशो भवति कुपोः परतः ॥

48. स or ष is substituted for the visarga, before a hard guttural and labial in the words कस्क and the rest.

This is an Apavâda to Sûtra VIII. 3. 37. ष् is substituted after इ or उ, and स् everywhere else. Thus कस्तः, 2. कौतस्कुतः (with अ॒ of कुत आगतः). 3. भातुषुचः (VI. 3. 23) 4. शुनस्कर्णः (VI. 3. 21) 5. सद्यस्कालः; 6. सद्यस्की (from क्री 'to buy' with the affix विवृण्, because it belongs to Sampadâdi class.) 7. साद्यस्कः (from सद्यस्की in the sense of तवभेदः कतुः). 8. कांस्कान् (the ह is by VIII. 3. 12). 9. सर्पिञ्जुट्टिका, 10. चतुष्कपालम्, 11. धनुष्कपालम् 12. बहिष्पूलम्, 13. यजुष्पात्रम् ॥ "The words 9 to 13 are exceptions to VIII. 3. 45, so that there might be ष्, even when सर्पिस् &c are preceded by another word. Thus परमसर्पि ष्कुण्डिका ॥ The counter-example then to VIII. 3. 45 will be परमसर्पि फलम् ॥" This is the opinion of the Pârâyânikâs. But in the Mahâbhâshya, the counter-example under VIII. 3. 45 is परमसर्पि ष्कुण्डिका ॥ Another reason why these words are listed here, is that ष change will take place, even where there is no correlation or vyapekshâ. As तिष्ठतु सर्पिञ्जुट्टिकां जानय ॥ So also when there is correlation, as इदं सर्पिञ्जुट्टिकायाः ॥ Here सर्पिस् is an incomplete word. The ष change, will take place even where there is no compounding. Where there is no compounding, and there is complete want of correlation, even there the ष will invariably come. And where there is correlation, but no compounding there the ष would have been optional by VIII. 3. 44, but it becomes invariable here, on account of these words being so listed. Thus we have these cases : (1) Without correlation, as तिष्ठतु सर्पिञ्जुट्टिकामानय ॥ (2) Where there is correlation, as इदं सर्पिञ्जुट्टिकायाः ॥ (3) Where there is composition, as सर्पिञ्जुट्टिका ॥ (4) Where there is no composition and no correlation even, as, in example (1). (5) Where there is correlation but no compounding as in example (2). In all these cases there is ष invariably in case of these words. 14. अयस्काण्डः, 15. मैत्रस्पिण्डः ॥ अविहितलक्षण उपचारः कस्तादिप्र दृष्टव्यः ।

Every change of visarga to स or ष, must be referred to Kaskādi class, if not governed by any other rule. Thus this is an Akṛtīgaṇa. Upachāra is the name of स and ष which replace the visarga.

The Pârâyaña is of two sorts, Dhâtu-Par, and Nâma-Par. Those who devote themselves in committing to memory and reciting these are Pârâyânikas.

छन्दसि वा प्राप्तेऽदितयोः ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, वा, अ-प्र-आप्तेऽदितयोः ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये विसर्जनीयस्य वा सकारादेशो भवति कुरुपाः परतः पश्चाद्दं आप्तेऽदितं वर्जयित्वा ॥

49. स may optionally be substituted for the

visarga before a hard guttural and labial, in the Chhandas ; but neither before प्र, nor before a doubled word.

Thus अयः पाचम् or अयस्पाचम् ॥ This is an example of non-compounds. In compounds, the स change is compulsory by VIII. 3. 46 : because the option of the present sutra is asiddha there, and it finds its scope in cases other than compounds. If the maxim प्रकरणे प्रकरणमसिद्धं न योगे योगः be applied, then the two sutras VIII. 3. 46 and VIII. 3. 49 belong to the same प्रकरणं and one is not asiddha with regard to the other. Then we could give examples of compounds also under this sutra : but then such compounds will also be governed by VIII. 3. 46, and so the स would be compulsory.

विश्वतस्पाचम् or विश्वतः पाचम्, here the word विश्वतः is an Indeclinable and hence the rule VIII. 3. 46, does not apply to it. उह णः कारः or उहण स्कारः ॥ Here नस् is substituted for असद्, and then the न is changed to ण by VIII. 4. 27. The word कारः is a घञ् formed word.

Why do we say "not before प्र and a doubled word"? Observe अग्निः प्र विहान् (Av. V. 26. 1), पुरुषः पुरुषः परि ॥

In सूर्यदिव्यहितिकेशः पुरस्तात् (Rig. X. 139. 1), स नः पाचकः (Rig. I. 12. 10), the स change has not taken place, as all rules are optional in the Vedas.

कः करत्करतिकृधिकृतेष्वनदिते: ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ कः-करत्-करति-कृधि-कृतेषु, अन्-अदिते: ॥

वृचिः ॥ कः करत् करति कृधि कृत इत्येतेषु परतः अनदितेर्विसर्जनीयस्य सकारादेशो भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

50. The visarga is changed to स् in the Chhandas, before कः, करत्, करति, कृधि and कृतः but not so the visarga of अदितिः ॥

Thus विश्वतस्कः ॥ कः is the Aorist of कृ, the त्वि has been elided by II. 4. 80 : the क्त् of कृ is gunated before the affix तिष्, thus we have करत्, the त् is elided by VI. 1. 68; and the augment अङ् is not added by VI. 4. 75. Similarly विश्वतस्करत् ॥ Here also करत् is the Aorist of कृ, with अङ् by III. 1. 59. पयस्करति, here करति is the लङ् of कृ; शष् is added instead of ड, as a Vedic anomaly. उरणस्कृधि, here कृधि is the Imperative of कृ, the सि is changed to हि, the vikaraṇa is elided, and हि changed to धि by VI. 4. 102. See VIII. 4. 27, for the change of न to ण ॥ सदस्कृतम्, here कृतम् is Past Participle of कृ ॥

Why do we say 'but not of अदितिः'? Observe यथा नो अदितिः करत् (Rig. I. 43. 2).

पञ्चम्या: परावध्यर्थे ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चम्याः, परौ, अध्यर्थे ॥

वृचिः ॥ छन्दसित्येव । पञ्चमीविसर्जनीयस्य सकारादेशो भवति परौ परतः अध्यर्थे ॥

51. The visarga of the Ablative case is changed to स् before परि meaning 'over'.

The word Chhandas is understood here also. Thus दिवस्परि प्रथमं जज्ञे (Rig X. 45. 1) अग्निर्हिमवतस्परि ॥ दिवस्परि, नहस्परि ॥

Why do we say 'of the Ablative'? Observe अहिरित्वं भोगैः पर्येति बाहुम् ॥ Why do we say "before परि"? See एम्योवा एतत्लोकेभ्यः प्रजापतिं समैरयत् ॥ Why do we say 'when परि means 'over'? See दिवः पृथिव्याः प्रयोज्ज उद्भूतम् (Rig. VI. 47. 27). Here परि has the sense of "on all sides".

पातौ च बहुलम् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पातौ, च बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पातौ च धातौ परतः पञ्चमीविसर्जनीयस्य बहुलं सकार आदेशो भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

52. स् may diversely be substituted for the visarga of the Ablative before the verb पातु in the Chhandas.

Thus दिवस्पातु, राजस्पातु ॥ Sometimes, the change does not take place, as परिषदः पात ॥

पष्ठ्याः पतिपुत्रपृष्ठपारपदपयस्पोषेषु ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पष्ठ्याः-पति-पुत्र-पृष्ठ-पार-पद पयस्त्-पोषेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्चमीविसर्जनीयस्यसकारादेशो भवति पति पुत्र पृष्ठ पार पद पयस्त् पोष इत्येतेषु परतः छन्दसि विषये ॥

53. For the visarga of the Genitive, there is substituted स् in the Vedas, before पति, पुत्र, पृष्ठ, पार, पद, पयस्त्, and पोष ॥

Thus वाचस्पाति विश्वकर्मीणमूतये, (Rig. x. 81. 7), दिवस्पुत्राय सूर्याय, दिवस्पृष्ठे धावमानं सुपर्णम्, अग्नम्, तमस्पातम्, इडस्पदे समिध्यसे, सूर्यं चक्षु विवस्याः, रायस्पोषं यजमानेषु धन्तम् ॥

Why do we say 'after a genitive case'? See मनुः पुत्रेभ्यो शब्दं व्यभजत् ॥

इडाया वा ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ इडायाः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इडायाः पञ्चमीविसर्जनीयस्य वा सकार आदेशो भवति पत्यादिषु परतश्छन्दसि विषये ॥

54. स् is optionally substituted for the visarga of इडायाः, before पति &c, (VIII. 3. 53.) in the Chhandas.

Thus इडाया: पतिः or इडायास्पतिः इडायास्तुत्वः । इडाया: पुत्रः । इडायास्पृष्ठम् । इडाया: पृष्ठम् । इडाया स्पातम्, इडायाः पारम् । इडायास्पदम् । इडायाः पदम् । इडायास्पयः । इडायाः पयः । इडायाः पोषम् । इडायास्पोषम् ॥

अपदान्तस्य मूर्खन्यः ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-पदान्तस्य, मूर्खन्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपदान्तस्योति मूर्खन्यं इति चैतदधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् । आपादपरिसमाप्तेः ॥

55. Upto the end of the Pāda, is throughout to be supplied the following : "A cerebral letter is substituted always in the room of ——, when this letter does not stand at the end of a word".

Here ceases the Padādhikāra which commenced with VIII. i. 16. The two words अपशान्तस्य 'not final in a pada', and मूर्दन्यः 'cerebral' exert a governing influence on all sūtras upto the end of this chapter. Thus VIII. 3. 59, teaches "of an affix and a substitute". The whole of the present sūtra should be read there to complete the sense: i.e. "a cerebral sound is substituted always in the room of the स of an affix and of the स which is a substitute, when it does not stand at the end of a word". Thus सिषेव, मुष्वाप, आग्रुषु, वायुषु ॥

Why do we say 'not final'? See अग्रिस्तत्र, वायुस्तत्र ॥ Though the anuvṛitti of ष was understood here, yet the employment of the word 'cerebral' is for the sake of ष; as अकृद्गम्, चकृद्ग (VIII. 3. 78).

**सहे: साढः सः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहे:, साढः:, सः: ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ सहेर्दतोः साढ़रूपस्य यः सकारस्तस्य मूर्दन्य अदिशो भवति ॥**

56. ष is substituted for the स् in साह, when this occurs in the form of साढ़ (साढ़) ॥

Thus जलाशाद्, तुराशाद्, पृतनाशाद् ॥ साढ़ is derived from सह by the affix षिव (III. 2. 63), there is vṛiddhi of the penultimate, the ह is changed to ढ (VIII. 2. 31), and the upapada is lengthened (VI. 3. 137).

साढः सः would have been enough, for there is no other form साढ़ except this derived from सह; why then the word सहे: is used in the sūtra? There is another form साढ़ not derived from सह ॥ Thus सह डेन वर्तते = सडः, सउस्य अपत्यं = साढ़िः ॥ He in whose name there is the letter ड is called सड़; as शृड़ ॥

Why do we say 'in the form of साढ़'? The rule will not apply when the form is साह, as जलाशाहम्, तुराशाहम् ॥ Why do we say सः "for the स"? So that the आ of साढ़ may not be changed to cerebral: the ड is already cerebral.

**इण्कोः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इण्कोः ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥ इण्कोरित्येतदधिकृतं वैदितव्यम् । इत उत्तरं यद्वद्यामः इणः कवर्गाद्येत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ।**

57. From this, upto the end of the chapter, should be supplied in every sūtra, the following :—"when a vowel (with the exception of अ or आ), or a र or a guttural precedes".

The word इण is a pratyāhāra formed with the second ण of लण् ॥ It includes all vowels and semivowels except अ and आ ॥ Of the semi-vowels र् is only efficient: so that only is taken in the translation. कृ means the letters of the क class. Thus इण्कोः is supplied in VIII. 3. 59, to complete the sense. Thus सिषेव, मुष्वाप, अग्रिषु, वायुषु, कर्तृषु, लृषु, गीर्तु, धूर्तु, वाक्षु, खक्षु ॥

Why do we say "when preceded by इण or कृ"? Observe शास्त्रिति, असौ ॥ Here the affix स of स्यति, and the substitute स in असौ (VII. 2. 106) are not changed to ष ॥

नुम्बिसर्जनीयशब्दवायेपि ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुम्, विसर्जनीय-शब्दवाये, अपि ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ तुम्बवायेपि विसर्जनीयशब्दवायेपि शब्दवायेपि इण्कोहन्तरस्य सकारस्य मूर्दन्वादेशो भवति ॥

58. The substitution of ष for स takes place then also, when the augment त् (तुम्), the visarjanīya or a sibilant occurs between the said इण् and कु letters or the स् ॥

The word व्यवाय 'separation, intervention' applies to every one of the words तुम्, &c. Thus (1) when तुम् intervenes, as सर्वाणि, यज्ञाणि, हर्वाणि (VII. 1. 72, VI. 4. 10). (2) When a visarjanīya intervenes, as सर्वितु, यज्ञितु, हर्वितु (VIII. 3. 36) (3) When a Sibilant intervenes, as सर्विष्टु, यज्ञिष्टु हर्विष्टु ॥

The व्यवा takes place, when तुम् &c intervene *singly* and not when they intervene collectively. Therefore not here, निस्ते, निस्ते from the root नित् 'to kiss.' Here there is the intervention of *two*, namely, तुम् and स् (III. 4. 91).

The word इण्कोः is in the Ablative case, and it required that the स् should follow *immediately* after it. Hence the necessity of the present sūtra for the intervention of certain letters.

आदेशप्रत्यययोः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदेश, प्रत्यययोः ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ आदेशो यः सकारः प्रत्ययस्य च यः सकार इण्कोहन्तरस्तस्य मूर्दन्व्यो भवति ॥

59. ष is substituted for that स् which is a substitute (of the ष of a root in Dhātupāṭha by VI. 1. 64), or which is (the portion of) an affix, under the above mentioned conditions (VIII. 3. 57, 58), of being preceded by an इण् vowel or a guttural.

The word cerebral is understood here from VIII. 3. 55, as well as स ॥ The sūtra आदेश-प्रत्ययोः is in the Genitive case. The force of the Genitive however is different in the word आदेश, from what it is in pratyaya. In the first it is samānādhikaraṇa-shashṭhi, in the latter avayava-yogāshashṭhi. That is that स् which is an आदेश, and that स् which belongs to an affix. If we took it as avayavayoga shashṭhi in both places, then the sūtra would mean "of that स् which is a portion of a substitute, or of an affix," and there would arise the following anomaly. In doubling a word by VIII. 1. 1, one view is that two are *substituted* in the room of one (See VIII. 1. 1). Thus विसंविसं, मुसलंमुसलं ॥ Here the स् in these words, is a *portion* of a substitute, and would be changed to ष, if we translate the sūtra as above.

If we take the other view, and translate the sūtra as "of that स् which is a substitute or an affix", we land on the following anomaly. We must have forms like कारस्ति and हरिस्ति, and not the correct forms करिष्यति, हरिष्यति;

for here स् is not an affix, but a *portion* of an affix. In fact, with regard to affixes, the sūtra would be confined to those affixes only which consist of a single स्, such as सिप् in the Vedic subjunctive लेद् ॥ That this is the proper interpretation of the sūtra is indicated by the sūtra VIII. 3. 60, (the next aphorism). The substitute घस् is taken in this sūtra. If therefore, the force of Genitive in आदेशस्य was = आदेशस्य यः सकारः and not = आदेशः यः सकारः, then there would have been no necessity of including the substitute घस् in the sūtra, for then the present sūtra would have covered the case of घस् also. Similarly, if the force of the Genitive in प्रत्ययस्य was = प्रत्ययः यः सकारः, and not = प्रत्ययस्यः यः सकारः; then there would have been no necessity of excluding the affix सात् (V. 4. 52) from the operation of the present rule by VIII. 3. 111, because it is not an affix consisting of a single letter स् ॥

Having surmised this, we shall now give illustrations. First of that स् which is a substitute. It can only be the स् which replaces the ष् of a root in Dhātupāṭha. Thus सिषेव, सुष्वाप ॥ Of an affix, we have अग्निषु, वायुषु, कर्तृषु, हर्षुषु; वक्षत् in इन्द्रो मा वक्षत्; and यक्षत् in स देवान् यक्षत् ॥

*Q.*—In the case of वक्षत् and यक्षत्, the स् is not the *portion* of an affix, but the *whole* affix itself: the present sūtra should therefore not apply to this स् ॥

*Ans.*—Here we apply the maxim ज्यपदेशिवद् एकसिन् ॥

These words (वक्षत् and यक्षत्) are from the roots वच् and यज्, in लेद् with तिप्, the इ is elided by III. 4. 97, the augment अट् (III. 4. 94), the affix सिप् by III. 1. 34; the च् of वच् is changed to a guttural, and the ज् of यज् to ष् and then to a guttural.

The Uṇādi word अक्षरं (अष्+सर् Uṇ. III. 70) complies with this rule, but not so the word कृसरं and धूसरं (Uṇ. III. 73) formed with the same affix सर् ॥

शासि॒वसि॒धसीनांच ॥६०॥ पदानि ॥ शासि॒-वासि॒- धसीनाम्, च ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ शासि॒ वसि॒ धासि॒ इत्येतेषां च इष्टोरुत्तरस्य सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यो भवति॒ ॥

60. ष् is substituted for the स् of शास्, वस् and धस् when it is preceded by an इण् vowel or a guttural.

Thus अन्वशिष्टत्, अन्वशिष्टाम्, अन्वशिष्टन्, the Aorist of शास्; the श्वि is replaced by अट् (III. 1. 56), and the आ changed to इ by VI. 4. 34. So also शिष्टः, शिष्टवान् ॥ From वस् we have उषितः, उषितवान्, उषित्वा ॥ The Samprasāraṇa takes place by VI. 1. 15 as it belongs to yajādi class. From घस् we have अक्षत्, अज्ञुः; in the Perfect. घस् is the substitute of अट् (II. 4. 40), the penultimate अ is elided by VI. 4. 98. So also अक्षन् in अक्षत्रमीमदन्त पितरः (Rig. I. 82. 2). This is the Aorist form of अट्, the घस् is substituted for अट् (II. 4. 37): the Aorist sign is elided by II. 4. 80.

This sūtra is made to cover cases not governed by the last sūtra, namely, where the स् is not an आदेशा. Though the स् in घस् is the स् of a substitute, yet it is not governed by the preceding aphorism, because the word आदेशस्य there means 'the स् which is a substitute'. Here स् is not a substitute, but a portion of a substitute. The non-substitute घस् is not to be taken here : as it seldom occurs.

The word इष्टकोः is understood here also. Therefore the rule would not apply to शास्ति, वसति and अथास ॥

**स्तौतिष्योरेव पण्यभ्यासात् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तौति-ष्योः, एव, पाणि, अभ्यासात् ॥**

वृत्ति ॥ स्तात्पर्यन्तानां च पण्यभूते सनि परतः अभ्यासादिण उत्तरस्य आदेशासकारस्य मूर्ख्यन्योदेशो भवति ॥

61. स् is substituted for स after इ or उ in the reduplication of a Desiderative, if the स of सन् is changed to ष ; but only in स्तु and in Causative of roots which in Dhātupāṭha begin with a ष ॥

This rule is confined to the Desideratives of स्तु and of स् beginning roots in the Causative, provided that the Desiderative sign स् is changed to ष ॥ The rule applies to the स् of the substitute, and not to the affix स् as there can be no such स् after a reduplicate syllable. Therefore स् means that स which replaces the स् of the roots.

Thus from स्तु we have त्रुष्टृष्टति ॥ Here the स of सन् is changed to ष by the last sūtra, and therefore so also after the reduplicate उ, the स of स्तु is changed to ष ॥

Of the Causatives of roots beginning with ष in Dhātupāṭha, we have सिष्वेवथिष्ठति, सिष्विष्जयिष्ठति, मुष्ट्वापथिष्ठति ॥ In this last, the इ is changed to उ by VII. 4. 67.

Though this ष change would have taken place by the previous sūtra (VIII. 3. 59), yet the separate enunciation of this rule indicates that this is a niyama aphorism—the ष change takes place only in these cases of स्तु and Causatives of Desideratives under the conditions mentioned in this sūtra, and *nowhere else*. Thus सिसिक्षति from the root पिच करणे (Tud. 140). This is a root, which is exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha with a ष, therefore the form ought to have been सिष्पिक्षति by VIII. 3. 59, but it is not so, because of the niyama of the present sūtra. So also मुष्टुष्टते from षुष्ट् प्राणिप्रसंवे (Div. 24) : and मुष्टुष्टति from षु प्रेरणे (Tud 115).

If this is a niyama rule by the very fact of its separate enunciation, what is then the necessity of using the word एव in the aphorism ? Ans. इष्टतोऽवधारणार्थम् ; so that, the sūtra may mean "if स्तु and Causatives *only*, when ष follows" ? and not "if स्तु and Causatives when ष only follows". In the

latter view, we could not get the form तुदात् ; and the rule would have applied to सिसिक्षति also.

Why do we say "in the Desiderative ए" ? So that the niyama may not be any where else. Had एष not been used in the sūtra, the restriction would have been with regard to every affix, and the sūtra would have meant "if there is occasion of पत्त्व change after a reduplicate, it should take place only in the case of स्तु and the Causatives". Therefore ए change would not have taken place in सिसेच, as it is not a Causative.

*Q.—को विनतेऽनुरोधः?* Why have we used the word एष with ए, and not the word सत् ? That is, what compulsion was there to exhibit the Desiderative affix सत्, in this changed form ? The word विनत् is the name given in the Prāti-sākhyas to ए and ए change.

*Ans.—* So that the restrictive rule may not apply to the अविनत् form of सत् ॥ As सुषुप्तस्ति ॥ The सत् is here किंत् by I. 2. 8, and there is vocalisation by VI. 1. 15. For had सति been used in the sūtra, then the restriction would have been with regard to all Desideratives in general, whether the सत् was changed to ए or not. Therefore as there is restriction of VIII. 3. 59, in the case of सिसिक्षति where स is not changed to ए ; so there would have been restriction in सुषुप्तस्ते, the स could not have been changed to ए by VIII. 3. 59. Similarly in तिश्वासति ॥

*Q.—* What is the necessity of exhibiting एष with the anubandha ए ? So that the rule should not apply to ए in general, but to the Desiderative affix ए only. As सुषुप्तिः इन्द्रम् ॥ This सुषुप्तिः is the Perfect of स्वप्, the affix यास् is added as Chandas irregularity instead of यह ; for यास् there is से, the affix is किंत् by I. 2. 5, and so there is vocalisation by VI. 1. 15, and reduplication, and the augment हृ is added by VII. 2. 13, the ए is changed to अव्, as सुषुप्तिः इन्द्रं, the ए is elided by VIII. 3. 19. Here after the reduplicate सु, the स् is changed to ए, in ए by the general rule VIII. 3. 59, as the restriction of this sūtra does not apply in this case. But had ए in general been taken, then सुषुप्तिः has an affix ए, and therefore sūtra VIII. 3. 59, would have been restricted, and there would have been no change of सु to ए after the reduplicate, as it is not a causative. Hence एष has been employed with an anubandha.

Why do we say 'after a reduplicate' ?

*Ans.—* So that this restriction may apply to that ए which would have been caused by the ह or उ of an abhyāsa, and not to that which would have been caused by an upasarga. As अभिधिष्कति, though without the Preposition, the form is सिसिक्षति ॥

*Q.—* No, this cannot be the reason, because the ए caused by the upasarga is considered as asiddha, and hence there would be no restriction.

*Ans.*—Then we say, the abhyāsa is taken to be qualified by सन्, namely that abhyāsa which is *caused* by सन्, would give occasion to this rule and not any other abhyāsa. Therefore if a reduplication has been caused by यह्, and then षण् is added to it, then the restriction of the present sūtra will not apply, and पत्र change will take place though the root may not be a Causative &c. Thus the यह् of स्वप् is सोषुभ्य (VI. 1. 19), the Desiderative of this root is सोतुषिष्ठते, with इह् augment, the elision of अ (VI. 4. 48) of अ, the elision of य् by VI. 4. 49.

*Q.*—No this also cannot be the reason: because the पत्र change is antaranga, while the restriction niyama is Bahiranga. Therefore, the word abhyāsa is employed superfluously in the sūtra.

*Ans.*—The word abhyāsa is taken in the sūtra, so that the restriction may be with regard to that अ which might have been caused by the इ or उ of the abhyāsa; and not to that अ which might be occasioned by the इ or उ of a *dhātu* or verbal root. Thus प्रतिषिष्ठति, अधीषिष्ठति ॥ Here the root इ in the sense of बोधन, is turned to Desiderative with सन्; and by VI. 1. 2, the स is reduplicated, then by VII. 4. 79, the अ is changed to इ ॥ Thus इसिष्ठ; here by the force of the इ of the abhyāsa सि, the स is changed to अ as इसिष्ठ; (VIII. 3. 59) then as the restriction of this sūtra does not apply, the root इ causes the पत्र of the abhyāsa, as इषिष्ठ ॥ Had the word अभ्यसात् not been used in the sūtra, the स of abhyāsa could not have been changed to अ, for then the sūtra would have meant “अ is substituted for स, only in the case of स्तु and Causatives in the Desiderative षण्”; and as इसिष्ठ is not a Causative-Desiderative, the restriction would have applied.

सः स्विदिस्वदिसहीनां च ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः, स्विदि-स्वदि-सहीनाम, च ॥  
वृत्ति ॥ स्विदि स्वदि सहि इत्येतेषां पञ्चनानां सनि अभूते परतो उभ्यासादुत्तरस्य सकारस्य सकारादेशो  
भवति ॥

62. स is substituted for the स् after the reduplicate of the षण् Desiderative of the Causatives of स्वद्, स्वद्, and सह ॥

The स substitute of स् debars the cerebral change. In other words, the स of these roots remains unchanged. As सिस्वेशयिष्ठति, सिस्वाइयिष्ठति and सिसाइयिष्ठति ॥

प्राक् सितादद्वयवाये अपि ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राक्, सितात्, अद्, व्यवाये, अपि ॥  
वृत्ति ॥ सेवसितेति वक्ष्यति प्राक् सतसंशब्दनायादित कर्ध्वमनुकमिष्यामस्तचाइव्यवायेपि मूर्जन्यो भवति-  
त्येवं तद्वेदितव्यमपिशब्दादन इव्यवायेपि ॥

63. (The substitution of अ for स्, to be taught hereafter, will take place) for all roots upto सित् exclusive in

VIII. 3. 70, even when the augment अ॒ � intervenes (between the स and the efficient letter).

The root सित् occurs in sūtra VIII. 3. 70. Thus VIII. 3. 65 teaches प change : as अभिषुणोति, परिषुणोति, विषुणोति, निषुणोति ॥ So also when अ॒ intervenes ; as अभ्यषुणोत्, पर्यषुणोत्, व्यषुणोत्, न्यषुणोत् ॥ The force of अपि is that the change takes place even when the augment अ॒ does not come, i. e. in cases other than the augment.

स्थादिष्वभ्यासेन चाभ्यासस्य ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थादिषु, अभ्यासेन, च, अभ्यासस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राक् सितादिति वर्णते ॥ उपसर्गात्मुनोतीत्यत्र स्थासेनयसेधेति स्थादयस्तेषु स्थादिषु प्राक् सितर्त्वाद्वा अभ्यासेन व्यवाये मूर्द्धन्यो भवत्यभ्यासकारस्य च भवतीत्येवं वेदितव्यम् ॥

64. In स्था &c upto सित् exclusive (VIII. 3. 65 to VIII. 3. 70), this घ substitution takes place then also, when the reduplicate intervenes, and the स of the reduplicate is also changed to प ॥

The words प्राक् सितात् are understood here also. The स्थादि roots are, स्था, सेनय &c in VIII. 3. 65 and ending with सेष् in VIII. 3. 70. The sūtra consists of two sentences : (1) The पत्त्व takes place in स्था &c. even when a reduplicate intervenes ; (2) The स of the reduplicates of स्था &c. is changed to प ॥ The first is a *vidhi* rule, and the second is a *niyama* rule.

Thus परित्थौ where the abhyāsa त् intervenes. This applies even to roots other than those which have been taught with a घ in the Dhātupāṭha. As अभिविष्णेणविष्टति, परिविष्णेणविष्टति (सेनया अभियातुमिष्टन्ति). This applies moreover to reduplicates which end in अ, as अभित्थौ ; here the स् would not have been changed to प (by VIII. 3. 59) as it is not preceded by इ or उ ॥ Another *raison d'être* of this sūtra is that it prohibits घण् (VIII. 3. 61). As अभिविष्णिक्षति, परिविष्णिक्षति ॥

The word अभ्यासस्य is for the sake of niyama, as we have said above. स of स्था &c. and of no other roots is changed to प ॥ As अभिषुसूशति from शु मेण with सत्, the augment is debarred by VII. 2. 12 : the root स् is unchanged by the niyama prohibition of VIII. 3. 61 ; the reduplicate स् remains unchanged by the restriction of the present sūtra.

उपसर्गात्मुनोतिसुवतिस्यतिस्तौतिस्तोभतिस्यासेनयसेधसिचसञ्ज्ञस्वज्ञाम् ॥ ६५ ॥  
पदानि ॥ उपसर्गात्, मुनोति-सुवति-स्यति-स्तौति-स्तोभति-स्या-सेनय-सेध-सिच-  
सञ्ज्ञ-स्वज्ञाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गस्यादिमित्तादुत्तरस्य मुनोति सुवति स्यति स्तौति स्तोभति स्या सेनय सेध सिच सञ्ज्ञ स्वज्ञ इत्येतेषां सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यवेशो भवति ॥

65. श् is substituted for स्, after an इ and उ of an upasarga in the following verbs : स् (मुनोति), स् (सुवति), सो

(स्यति VII. 3. 71), स्तु (स्तौति VII. 3. 89), स्तुम् (स्तोभते), स्था, सेनय (Denominative), सिध् (संधाति), सिच्, सद्भज् and स्वद्भज् ॥

Thus अभिषुणोति, परिषुणोति, अभ्यषुणोत्, पर्युणोत् ॥ सुवति, अभिसुवति, परिषुवति, अभ्यसुवत्, पर्युवत् ॥ स्यति, अभिष्यति, परिष्यति, अभ्यष्यत्, पर्यष्यत् ॥ स्तैति, अभिष्टौति, परिष्टौति, अभ्यष्टौत् ॥ स्तोभति, अभिष्टोभते, परिष्टोभते, अभ्यष्टोभत्, पर्यष्टोभत् ॥ स्पा, अभिष्टास्थति, परिष्टास्थति, अभ्यष्टास्थत्, पर्यष्टास्थत्, अभिष्टौति, परिष्टौति ॥ सेनय, अभिषेणयति, परिषेणयति, अभ्यषेणयत्, पर्यषेणयत् ॥ अभिषियेणयिष्यति, परिषियेणयिष्यति ॥ सेध, अभिषेधति, परिषेधति, अभ्यषेधत्, पर्यषेधत् ॥ सिच्च, अभिषिच्चति, परिषिच्चति, अभ्यषिच्चत्, पर्यषिच्चत्, अभिषिक्षिष्यति, परिषिक्षिष्यति ॥ सङज, अभिषञ्जति, परिषञ्जति, अभ्यषञ्जत्, पर्यषञ्जत्, अभिषिघङ्खति, परिषिघङ्खति ॥ लङ्ज, अभिष्वजते, परिष्वजते, अभ्यष्वजन, पर्यष्वजत्, अभिषिष्वङ्खते, परिषिष्वङ्खते ॥ सेध इति शब्दिकरणनिर्देशः सिध्यतिनिवृत्यर्थः ॥ उपसर्गादिति, किम् ? दधि सिङ्गचति, मधु सिञ्चति, निगताः ॥ संचका अस्माहेशान्त्रिः संचको देश ईत ॥ नायं सिंचेष्प-सर्गः ॥ अभिसावकीयत्यचापि न मुनोर्ति प्रति कियायोगः किं तस्मै सावकीयं प्रति ॥ अभिषावयत्यत्यत्यत् तु मुनोर्तिमेव प्रति कियायोगो न सावयत्तिभिति वस्त्वं भवति ॥

The root सिध् is exhibited in the sūtra as सेध with शप् vikaraṇa, thus debarring सिध्य-सिध्यति ॥

Why do we say "after an upasarga"? Observe वृथि सिञ्चति, मधु सिञ्चति (VIII. 3. 111). So निःसेचको देशः = निर्गता सेचका अस्माद् देशात् ॥ Here निः is not an Upasarga to वृथि, but to the noun सेचक ॥ Similarly in अभिसावकीयति, the upasarga अभि is not added to the root मु (मुनोति), but to the *third* derivative of मु (मुनेति). Namely, from मु we derive सावक with पञ्चल, and from सावक we form the Denominative root सावकीय with क्यच्; and to this Denominative root अभि is added. The upasarga, however may be added to the root first, and then पञ्चल and क्यच् added. In that case, the rule will apply. As अभिसावकीयति ॥ So also with the Causative, as अभिसावयति, for here the upasarga is added to the root मु and not to the causative form सावय ॥

The roots शुश्मभिष्वं बे belongs to Svādi class, शुप्रेरणे to Tudadi class, पोऽन्तकर्मणि to Divādi class, षट्श्च स्तुतौ to Adādi class and षट्श्च स्तमे, to Bhuādi Class. These have been shown in the sūtra in their declined form in order to indicate that the rule does not apply to their यड्लुक्, as अभिसोष्यवाति ॥ See VII. 1. 6 for this rule of द्वितीय exhibited roots. On the other hand, the roots सिष्म &c., being not so exhibited, change their स in यड्लुक् also, as अभिषेष्विचीति ॥

The upasarga need not end with इ and उ for the purposes of this rule. Thus निष्प्रयोति, दृष्प्रयोति, where the upasarga is निस् and दुस् ॥

सदिरप्रतेः ॥ ६६ ॥ : पदानि ॥ सदिः, अप्रतेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सदेः सकारस्य उपसर्गस्यात्रिमित्तावप्रतेहत्तरस्य मूर्खन्यं आदेशो भवति ॥

66. The स of सद् is changed to ष after an Upasarga having an इ or उ, but not after प्रति ॥

The word सहः is in the first case, but has the force of genitive. Thus विष्वीदति विष्वीति, न्यष्वीदत्, व्यष्वीत् ॥ निष्वसाद्, विष्वसाद् ॥ The second स remains unchanged in the Perfect by VIII. 3. 118.

Why do we say ‘but not after प्रति’? Observe प्रातिसदिति ॥ Prof. Bohtlingk points out that the sūtra is सदैरप्रतेः as given by Sayānāchārya in his commentary on Rig Veda VI. 13. 1. Pāṇini, however, often uses the first case with the force of the Genitive, as in VIII. 3. 80.

**स्तन्भेः ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तन्भेः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तन्भेः सकारस्य उपसर्गस्थानिमित्तादुत्तरस्य मूर्द्धन्य आदेशो भवति ॥

67. The स् of स्तन्भ is changed into ष after an up-asarga, having an इ or उ ॥

Thus अभिष्टनाति । परिष्टनाति । अम्यष्टनात् । पर्यष्टनात् । अभिष्टष्टम् । The word अप्रतेः of the last sūtra is not to be read here. Hence we have forms like:—प्रतिष्टनाति । प्रत्यष्टनात्, प्रत्यतिष्टम् ॥

अचाच्छालम्बनाविदूर्ययोः ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अबात्, च, आलम्बन-आविदूर्ययो ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ अवशब्दादुपसर्गादुत्तरस्य स्तन्भेः सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति । आलम्बनेर्ये आविदूर्ये च ॥

68. The स् of स्तन्भ is changed into ष after the preposition अब in the sense of ‘support’ and ‘contiguity’.

The word आलम्बनं means “support, refuge, that upon which any thing depends or leans”. आविर्द्ध means “the state of not being विदूर or far off, i. e. to be contiguous”.

Thus अवष्टयस्ते “He remains leaning upon a staff” &c, अवष्टय तिष्टति ॥ So also in the sense of to be near, as अवष्टधा सेना ‘the army near at hand’. अवष्टधा शरत् ॥ See V. 2. 13.

Why do we say “when having the sense of support or contiguity”? Thus अवस्तव्यो वृष्टलः शीतेन ‘the Śūdra is afflicted with cold’.

The present sūtra is commenced in order to make the ष change even while the preceding letter is not इ or उ ॥

**वेश्व स्वनो भोजने ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेः, च, स्वनः, भोजने ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ वेस्पसर्गादवाचोत्तरस्य भोजनार्थे स्वनते: सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

69. The ष is substituted for the स् of स्वन्, after विच and अब, when the sense is “to smack while eating”.

Thus विष्वणति, व्यष्वणत्, विष्ववाण, अवष्वणति, अवाष्वणत्, अवष्ववाण ॥ That is, he makes sound while eating, he eats with a smack.

Why do we say ‘when making a smacking sound in eating’? Observe विस्वननि शृङ्खः “the drum sounds”.

**परिनिविभ्यः सेवसितस्यसित्वुसहस्रुस्तुस्वज्ञाम् ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ परि-नि-वि-भ्यः, सेव-सित-स्य-सित्वु-सह-सुरु-स्तु-स्वज्ञाम् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ परि नि वि इत्येतेभ्य उपसर्गेभ्य उत्तरेषां सेव सित स्य सित्वु सह सुरु स्तु स्वज्ञ इत्येतेभ्यः सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्य आदेशो भवति ॥

70. ष is substituted for the स् of सेव्, सित्, सय्, सिव्, सह, the augment सुद्, स्तु, and स्वज्, after the prepositions परि, नि, and चि ॥

The root सेव belongs to Bhuādi class. The word सित् is the Past Participle of विष्ववन्धने, and सय् is the noun derived from the same root with the affix अस्; सिव् is a Divādi root.

Thus परिषेवते । निषेवते । विषेवते । पर्यषेवते । व्यषेवते । न्यषेवते । परिषिषेविषते । विषिषेविषते । निषिषेविषते । सित् । परिषितो, विषितो, निषितः । सय् । परिषयो, विषयो, निषयः । सिव् । परिषीव्यति । निषीव्यति । विषीव्यति । पर्यषीव्यत् । न्यषीव्यत् । व्यषीव्यत् । पर्यसीव्यत् । न्यसीव्यत् । व्यसीव्यत् । सह परिषहते । निषहते । विषहते । पर्यषहत । न्यषहत । व्यषहत । पर्यसहत । न्यसहत । व्यसहत । सुद् । परिष्करोति । पर्यस्करोत् । स्तु । परिष्टौति । निष्टौति । विष्टौति । पर्यष्टौत् । न्यष्टौत् । व्यष्टौत् । पर्यस्तौत् । न्यस्तौत् । व्यस्तौत् । व्यज्जते । विष्वज्जते । पर्यव्यज्जते । पर्यस्वज्जते । पूर्वेण सिद्धे स्तुत्यज्जिग्रहणमुत्तरार्थम् । अद्व्यवायं विभाषा वथा स्यात् ॥

The nasal is elided in स्वज् by VI. 4. 25. The स of स्तु and स्वज् would have been changed to ष by VIII. 3. 65 also. Their inclusion here is for the sake of subsequent sūtra, by which the ष change is *optional* when the augment अस् intervenes.

सिवादीनां वाऽव्यवायेषि ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिवादीनाम्, वा-अट्-व्यवाये, अपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनन्तरसूत्रे सिवसहस्रस्तुत्यज्जामिति सिवाव्यः । सिवादीनामङ्गव्यवायेषि परिनिविभ्य उत्तरस्य सकारस्य वा मुर्द्धन्यो भवति ॥

71. The ष-change may take place optionally in the सिव् and the rest (of the last sūtra), even when the augment अ intervenes between the prepositions परि, नि or चि and the verb.

The सिवादीनाम् are the four roots सिव् सह, स्तु and स्वज्, as well as the augment सुद् ॥ This is an example of ubhayatra-vibhāshā. In the case of स्तु and स्वज् it is prāpta-vibhāshā, in the case of others it is aprāpta. The examples have already been given under the preceding sūtra, and so need not be repeated here.

अनुविपर्यभिनिभ्यः स्यन्दतेरप्राणिषु ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनु-चि-परि-आभि निभ्यः, स्यन्दतेः, अप्राणिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनु चि परि आभि नि इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य स्यन्दतेरप्राणिषु सकारस्य वा मुर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

72. ष is optionally the substitute of the स् of स्यन्द्, after the prepositions अनु, चि, परि, आभि and नि, when the subject is not a living being.

The root स्यन्द् प्रस्त्रणे is anudātta. Thus अनुव्यन्दते । विष्वन्दते । परिष्वन्दते । अभिव्यन्दते तैलम् । निष्वन्दते । अनुस्यन्दते । विस्यन्दते । परिस्यन्दते ।

Why do we say 'when the subject is not a living being'? Observe अनुस्थन्देते मर्त्य उद्देके ॥ The option of this sūtra will apply, when the subject is a compound of living and non-living beings. Thus अनुस्थन्देते or अनुष्ठन्देते मर्त्योद्देके ॥ The subject here is a Dvandva compound, and it is not in the singular number because of II. 4. 6. The word अप्राणिषु is a Paryudāsa and not a Prasajya-priatishedha. If it be the latter sort of prohibition, then the force will be on the word *living*, and in a compound like मर्त्योद्देके, consisting of *living* and *non-living* beings, the prohibition will apply because it has a *living* being in it, and so there will be no पत्त्व ॥ In the other view, the force is on the word *non-living*, and because the compound contains a non-living being, therefore the option will be applied, and the presence of the living being along with it will be ignored.

The anuvṛitti of परि, नि and वि is understood here from VIII. 3. 70. So these words could well have been omitted from the sūtra, which might have then been अन्वभिर्यांच स्थन्देते प्राणिषु, and by the force of च we would draw in the anuvṛitti of परि &c.

वे: स्कन्देरनिष्ठायाम् ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वे:, स्कन्दे:, अनिष्ठायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेरुपसर्गादुत्तरस्य स्कन्दे: सकारस्य मुद्दर्भ्यो वा भवति अनिष्ठायाम् ॥

73. च् is optionally substituted for the स् of स्कन्द्, after the preposition वि, but not in the participles in त and तवत् ॥

The root is स्कन्दिर् गति शोषणयोः ॥ Thus विष्कन्ता or विस्कन्ता, विष्कन्तुम् or विस्कन्तुम्, विष्कन्तव्यम् or विस्कन्तव्यम् ॥

Why do we say 'but not in the Nishṭhā'? Observe विस्कन्तः

परेश्च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ परे:, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिशब्दाचोत्तरस्य स्कन्दे: सकारस्य वा मुद्दर्भ्यो भवति ॥

74. च् is optionally substituted for the स् of स्कन्द् after the preposition परि every where.

Thus परिष्कन्ता or परिस्कन्ता, परिष्कन्तुम् or परिस्कन्तुम्, परिष्कन्तव्यम् or परिस्कन्तव्यम् ॥

The word परि could well have been included in the last sūtra as विपरियां स्कन्देर् &c. The very fact that it has not been so included, indicates that the prohibition of अनिष्ठायाम् does not apply to it. Thus परिष्कणः or परिस्कनः ॥

परिस्कन्दः प्राच्यभरतेषु ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिस्कन्दः, प्राच्यभरतेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिस्कन्द हति मुद्दर्भ्याभावी निपात्यते प्राच्यभरतेषु प्रयोगविषयेषु ॥

75. The word परिस्कन्द is used without the cerebral change in the country of Eastern Bharata.

This is an anomaly. The ष required by the last sūtra is prohibited. The other form is परिष्कन्दः ॥ The word परिष्कन्द is formed by the affix अच् or it is a Nishṭhā, the त being elided. The word भरत qualifies the word प्राच्य ॥

Prof. Bohtlingk translates it “परिष्कन्द is seen in the usage of the Eastern People and the Bharata”. He bases his construction on the sūtras II. 4. 66, and IV. 2. 113, where प्राच्यभरतेषु means “the Eastern People and Bharata”.

स्फुरतिस्फुलत्योर्निर्निविभ्यः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्फुरति, स्फुलत्योः, निस्, नि, विभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्फुरतिस्फुलत्योः सकारस्य निस् नि वि इत्येत्य उत्तरस्य वा मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

76. ष् is optionally substituted for the स् of स्फुर् and स्फुल् after the prepositions निस्, नि, and वि ॥

Thus निष्फुरति or निस्फुरति, निस्फुरति or निष्फुरति, विष्फुरति, विस्फुरति ॥ स्फुलति, निष्फुलति, निस्फुलति, निष्फुलति, विष्फुलति, विस्फुलति ॥

वे: स्कञ्चातेर्नित्यम् ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वे:, स्कञ्चाते:, नित्यं ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेत्यस्य स्कञ्चाते: सकारस्य नित्यं मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

77. ष् is always substituted for the स् of स्कम्, after the preposition वि ॥

Thus विष्कम्भाति, विष्कम्भिता, विष्कम्भितुम्, विष्कम्भितव्यम् ॥

इणः षीध्वंलुङ्लिटां धोङ्गात् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इणः, षीध्वं, लुङ्लिटाम्, धः, अङ्गात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मूर्द्धन्य इति वर्तते । इणन्ताशङ्कात्परेषां षीध्वंलुङ्लिटां यो धकारस्तस्य मूर्द्धन्योदेशो भवति ॥

78. The cerebral sound is substituted in the room of the ष् of षीध्वम्, and of the Personal-endings of the Aorist and the Perfect, after a stem ending in इण् (a vowel other than अ).

The word ‘cerebral’ is understood here from VIII. 3. 55. Thus च्योषीद्वम्, ह्योषीद्वम् ॥ Aorist :—अच्योद्वम्, अह्योद्वम् (VIII. 2. 25). Perfect : चक्षुद्वे ॥

Though the anuvṛitti of इण्कोः was current here from VIII. 3. 57, yet the repetition of the word इण् here indicates that the anuvṛitti of कु or the guttural ceases. As पक्षीध्वम्, यक्षीध्वम् ॥

Why do we say “the ष of षीध्वं, लुङ्ल and लिट्”? Observe स्तुष्वे, अस्तुष्वम्, where the ष is of लट् and लङ् ॥

Why do we say अङ्गात् ‘after a stem’? Observe परिवेषीध्वम्, from विष्ट-यास्त्री of the Juhotyādi class. There is Guṇa of the reduplicate by VII. 4. 75, the स् of सीयुट् is elided by VII. 2. 79, and षीध्वम् here is made up of the ष् of the root विष्, and ईध्वम् the affix; therefore षीध्वं here is not after the anga परिवे वि, for the anga here is परिवे विष्, and ईध्वम् is the affix. This result could have been

obtained, without using the word अङ्गात् in the sūtra, by the maxim अर्थवद् यहेन नार्थकस्य "a combination of letters capable of expressing a meaning, denotes that combination of letters in so far as it possesses that meaning, but it does not denote a combination void of meaning".

**विभाषेटः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, इटः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ इणः परमादित उत्तरेषां वीचंलुहलिं या धकारस्तस्य मूर्दन्यादेशो भवति विभाषा ॥

79. The cerebral sound is optionally substituted for the ध् of वीचम् and of the Aorist and the Perfect after the augment इट्, when the stem ends in इण् ॥

Thus लू+इट्+वीचवम्=लविषीधवम् or लविषीद्रूप् so also पविषीधवम् or पविषीद्रूप् from गू ॥ Aorist:—अलविषवम् or अलविद्रूप् ॥ Perfect:—लुलुविष्वे or लुलुविद्रूप् ॥

The word इण् is understood here and it qualifies the word इट्, so that the stem should end in an इण् vowel which should be followed by the इट् augment and this letter should be followed by वीचवम् and the ध beginning affixes of the Aorist and the Perfect. If the stem does not end in an इण् vowel, the rule will not apply; as आसिषीधवम् from the root आस उपवेशने ॥

Then in the word उपविशियद्वे, will the cerebral change not take place by the option of this sutra or otherwise? This is from the root शीढ् क्षये in the Perfect with the augment इट् (VII. 2. 13.), and युट् (by VI. 4. 63). Some say that as the augment युट् intervenes between the stem ending in ई ( इण् vowel ), and the augment इट्, therefore this rule will not apply and there will not be the optional ट् ॥ Others hold that the anuvṛitti of अङ्गात् has ceased, and the anuvṛitti of इण् is only current, in this sutra, and there is no intervention and so there will be the optional change into ट् ॥

**समासेऽगुले: सङ्घः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ समासे, अङ्गुले:, सङ्घः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ सङ्घसकारस्याऽगुलेहत्तरस्य मूर्दन्यादेशो भवति समासे ॥

80. ष् is substituted for the स् of सङ्घ after the word अङ्गुलि in a compound.

Thus अङ्गुलिष्फ़ । अङ्गुलिष्फ़ो यवागृः । अङ्गुलिष्फ़ो गा: सादयति ॥ Why do we say in a compound? Observe अङ्गुले सङ्घं पद्य ॥

The word सङ्घः is exhibited in the sūtra in the nominative case. The force is here that of Genitive i. e. सङ्घस्य ॥

**भीरोः स्थानम् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भीरोः, स्थानम् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थानसकारस्य भीरोहत्तरस्य मूर्दन्यादेशो भवति ॥

81. ष् is substituted for the स् of स्थानं when preceded by भीरु in a compound.

Thus भीरुस्थानम् ॥ The word compound is understood here also; otherwise भीरो स्थानं पद्य ॥

अग्नेः स्तुतस्तोमसोमाः ॥ दूर ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्नेः, स्तुत, स्तोम, सोमाः ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ अग्निरुचरस्य स्तुत सोम सोम इत्यतेषां सकारस्य मूर्जन्यादेशो भवति समाप्ते ॥  
इटः ॥ अग्नीर्विर्धात् सोमस्येष्यते ॥

82. ४ is substituted for the स् of स्तुत, स्तोम and सोम when preceded by अग्नि in a compound.

Thus अग्निस्तुत्, अग्निस्तोमः, अग्नीसोमः ॥

*Ishti* :—The इ of अग्नि is lengthened before सोम and it is after such lengthened ई, that the स of सोम is changed to ष, otherwise not. As अग्निसोमौ माणवकौ ॥ So also अग्निसोमौ तिष्ठतः (where 'agni' means fire, and 'soma' a kind of herb) "the fire and the soma plant are here."

When there is no compounding we have अग्ने सोमः ॥

The word अग्निदृत् is formed by क्रिप्, the sacrifice in which Agni is praised (स्तूयते) is so called. अग्निष्टोमः is also the name of a sacrifice; the first division (संस्था) of the Soma-yāga. अग्नीशोमः is a देवता-दृत्: so where there is no Devatā-Dvandva, the ष change will not take place. Thus where Agni and Soma are names of two boys, or where they refer to physical fire and herb. According to Āśvalāyana there is lengthening and ष change in the last case also, as अग्नीशोमौ प्रणेष्यामि ॥

ज्योतिरायुषः स्तोमः ॥ दृ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्योतिः, आयुषः, स्तोमः ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ ज्योतिस् आयुस् इत्येताभ्यादुच्चरस्य स्तोमसकारस्य मूर्जन्यादेशो भवति समाप्ते ॥

83. The स् of स्तोमः is changed to ष after ज्योतिस् and आयुस् in a compound.

As ज्योतिष्टोमः, आयुषोमः, but ज्योतिः स्तोमं र्षयति where there is no compounding.

मातृपितृभ्यां स्वसा ॥ दृ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मातृ, पितृभ्याम्, स्वसा ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ मातृ पितृ इत्येताभ्यादुच्चरस्य स्वसृष्टकारस्य समाप्ते मूर्जन्यादेशो भवति ॥

84. The स् of स्वसृष्ट is changed to ष after मातृ and पितृ in a compound.

As मातृःस्वसा, पितृःस्वसा ॥ See VI. 3. 24.

मातुःपितुभ्यामन्यतरस्याम् ॥ दृ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ मातुः, पितुभ्याम्, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मातुर् पितुर् इत्येताभ्यादुच्चरस्य स्वसृष्टश्वस्यान्यतरस्यां मूर्जन्यादेशो भवति समाप्ते ॥

85. The स् of स्वसृष्ट is optionally changed to ष, after मातुर् and पितुर् in a compound.

Thus मातुःस्वसा, or मातुःस्वसा ; पितुःस्वसा or पितुःस्वसा ॥ The word मातुर् and पितुर् end in र्, which is changed to visarga (See VIII. 2. 24). In fact, the word पितुर् is so exhibited in the sūtra itself, with a ए, the word मातुः therefore, by the rule of साहचर्य is also to be understood as a ए ending word.

Q.—Well, if this be so, when this ए is changed to a visarga, and the visarga changed to स् by VIII. 3. 36, then there would be no ष change?

*Ans.*—The ष change would take place both after the visarga-ending or स्-ending words, on the maxim एकदेवविकृतस्यानन्यत्वात् “That which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means, in consequence of this change, something else than what it was before the change had taken place”. Therefore, these words are taken to end in ई॥ For if they were taken to end in स्, then the rule would not apply when they ended in a visarga. If they be supposed to end in a visarga, then the form पितुभ्याम् with a ई before भ्याम् in the sūtra is hard to explain.

The word समासे is understood here also. Therefore not here मातुः स्वसा when the words are used separately in a sentence.

अभिनिस्तनः शब्दसंज्ञायाम् ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभि-निसः, स्तनः, शब्द-संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभि निस् इत्येतस्मादुच्चरस्य स्तनतिसकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यविशो भवति अन्यतरस्यां शब्दसंज्ञायां गम्य-मानायाम् ॥

86. The स् of स्तन् is optionally changed to ष् after the double preposition अभि निस्, when the word so formed is the name of a particular letter (i. e. visarga).

As अभिनिश्चानो वर्णः, अभिनिश्चानो विसर्जनीयः or अभिनिस्तानो वर्णः or विसर्जनीयः ॥ The compound preposition आभि-निस् causes this change, and not any one of them separately. Thus Ápastamba:—द्व्यक्षरं चतुरक्षरं चा नामपूर्वमाख्यातोच्चरं वीर्धभि-निश्चानं, घोषवद्वायन्तरन्तरस्यम् “a name (nâma) should be such that it should consist of two-syllables or four-syllables, that its first portion should be a noun (nama-pûrva), and its second portion a verb (akhyâta), that it should end in a long vowel (dirgha) or a visarga (abhinishṭâna), that the first letter of such a noun should be a ghosha or sonant letter (ghosha-vad-âdi), and a semi-vowel (antastha) should be in the body of it.” Thus the names द्रविणोदा, वार्तिवोदा fulfill these conditions and are good names.

Why do we say “when it is the name of a particular letter”? Observe अभिनिस्तनति स्वदङ्गः ॥ The anuvṛitti of समासे ceases from this place.

उपसर्गप्रादुभ्यामस्तिर्यच्चपरः ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्ग, प्रादुभ्याम्, अस्ति:, यच्चपरः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गस्थान्त्रिमित्ताच्चादुसशब्दाच्चोच्चरस्य यकारपरस्याच्चपरस्य चास्तिसकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यो भवति ॥

87. The स् of the verb अस् is changed to ष्, when it is followed by a vowel or य् and is preceded by प्रादुः, or an upasarga having ई or उ in it.

The word यच्च परः means ‘followed by य् or अच्च’ ॥ The word प्रादुः is an Indeclinable, meaning ‘evidently’.

Thus अभिषन्ति, निषन्ति, विषन्ति, प्रादुःषन्ति; अभिष्यात्, निष्यात्, विष्यात्, प्रादुः-ष्यात् ॥

Why do we say "when preceded by an *Upasarga* having an इ or उ?" Observe वांधस्यात्, मधुस्यात् ॥ Why do we say 'of the verb अस्'? Observe अनुसृतम्, विसृतम् ॥

*Q.*—How is there any occasion for the application of the rule here? The context here relates to स्, and the word "upasarga" qualifies that स्, but here the upasarga is not applied to स्, but to the *whole verb* स्, therefore this is no counter-example. In fact, what is the necessity of using the word अस् at all in the sūtra: for even without it, the word 'upasarga' would qualify that verb which consists of स् only, and such a verb is अस्, with its अ elided and no other verb? Nor is the employment of अस् necessary for प्रादुः, for it comes only in connection with the verbs कृ, भू and अस् ॥

*Ans.*—All that you urge, is true, yet the following counter-example should be given, as अनुसू, the son of Anusū will be आनुसेयः with ढक् as it belongs to Subhrādi class. Thus अनुसू + ढक् = आनुसू + एय = आनुस् + एय ॥ Here the ऊ is elided by VI. 4. 147. Now when ऊ is elided, the स् is the only verb-element that remains, अनु is upasarga, and एय is affix; so that had अस् not been taken in the sūtra, the rule would apply to this स् also.

Why do we say "when it is followed by a vowel or य"? Observe निस्तः, विस्तः, प्रादुस्तः ॥

सुविनिरुद्धर्यः सुपिसूतिसमाः ॥ घट ॥ पदानि ॥ सु, वि, निर्, दुर्धर्यः, सुपि, सूति, समाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सु वि निर् दुर् इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य सुपि सूति सम इत्येतेषां सकारस्य मूलदन्यादेशो भवति ॥

*Kārikā*—सुपे: वल्वं स्वपर्मा भूर्विसुभ्वापेति केन न ।

हलादिशेषात्र सुपिरिदं पूर्वं प्रसारणम् ॥

स्यादीनां नियमो नात्र प्राक्विसत्तादुत्तरः सुपि ।

अनर्थके विषेषः पुष्पिभूतो हिरुच्यते ॥

88. The स् of स्वप्, सूति, and सम् is changed to य् after सु, वि, निर् and दुर् ॥

The word सुपि is exhibited in the sūtra as the form of स्वप् with vocalisation. Thus सुपुमः, निः सुपः दुः सुपः ॥ The word सूति is the निन् ending form of सू; the rule applies to this form only, as सुपूतिः, विसूतिः, निःशूति and दुःशूति ॥ The word सम् also means the noun सम् and not the verb सम् स्तम् वैकल्ये ॥ Thus सुपमम्, विसूतम्, निःशूतम्, दुःशूतम् ॥

*Kārikā*—Why is वल्व taught with regard to the सुप् form of स्वप्? *Ans.* सुपे: वल्वं स्वपर्मा भूत्, so that the वल्व change should not take place in स्वप् form, as विस्वमः and विस्वमक् (III. 2. 172) ॥ *Q.* विसुभ्वापेति केन न? For what reason the वल्व change has not taken place in the reduplicate विसुभ्वाप, for here also in the reduplicate, is the form सुप्, as विसुपस्वप्, and then by applying हलादिशेष rule, the प् is elided, and एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वात् applies? *Ans.* हलादि शेषात् न सुपिः; we

reduplicate the form स्वप्, as विस्वस्वप् and then elide प्, as विस्वस्वप्, and then vocalise, as विसुस्वप् so that there being no form सुप्, there is no पत्व ॥ इष्टं पूर्वं प्रसारणं, in fact, the vocalisation takes place first, and then elision according to an ishti. See VI 1. 17. Otherwise, in स्वप् स्वप्, as प् is elided, व् would also have been elided. Why is the स of विसुव्वाप् not changed to ष by VIII. 3. 64? स्थादीनां नियमो नात्र प्राक् सितादुन्नरः सुपि, the rule VIII. 3. 64 does not apply, because that rule is confined only to verbs up to सित in VIII. 3. 70, while सुप् is after that verb. Moreover the प् of सुप् being elided, the mere सु is अनर्थक, and the maxim is अर्थवद् भवेण नानर्थकस्य ॥ Q. If this maxim is applied, how do you form विषुषुपुः? Ans. अनर्थके विषुषुपुः सुपिभूतोऽद्विरुच्यते, here the form सुप् is doubled, and not सुप् ॥ The root is first joined with the affix वि+स्वप्, then there is vocalisation विसुप्, then there is प् change, as विषुप्, then reduplication, as विषुप्-सुप् ॥ Now पत्व being considered asiddha, the doubling should take place first? No, for we have already shown that for the purposes of doubling, the पत्व change is not asiddha (VIII. 2. 3 Vārt.)

**निनदीभ्यां स्नातेः कौशले ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नि, नदीभ्याम्, स्नातेः, कौशले ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ नि न वी इत्येताभ्यामुचरस्य स्नातिसकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति कौशले गम्यमाने ॥**

89. The प् is substituted for स् of स्ना after नि and नदी when the word so formed denotes “dexterous.”

Thus निष्णातः कटकरणे । निष्णातो रज्जुवर्त्तने । नद्यां स्नातीति नदीष्णः ॥ This last word is formed by the affix क added to स्ना preceded by the upapada नदी under sūtra III. 2. 4.

Why do we say when meaning dexterous? Observe निस्नातः, नदीस्नातः ( नद्यां स्नातः )

**सूत्रं प्रतिष्णातम् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ सूत्रम्, प्रतिष्णातम् ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिष्णातमिति निपात्यते । सूत्रं चेद्वति । प्रतिष्णातं सूत्रम् ॥**

90. The word प्रतिष्णातः is irregularly formed when meaning a sūtra.

Thus प्रतिष्णातः सूत्रम् i.e. शुद्धम् ‘pure’. When it has not this meaning we have प्रतिस्नातं = ‘bathed’

**कपिष्ठलो गोत्रे ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कपिष्ठलः, गोत्रे ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ कपिष्ठल इति निपात्यते गोत्रविषये ॥**

91. The word कपिष्ठल is irregularly formed denoting the founder of a gotra of that name.

Thus the son of Kapiṣṭhala will be कपिष्ठलिः ॥ The word “gotra” here does not mean the grammatical “gotra,” but the popular term ‘gotra’ denoting ‘clans,’ as described in the list of pravaras. Why do we say “when denoting the founder of a gotra”? Observe कपिस्थलम्. The land of the monkeys.

प्रष्ठो अग्रगामिनि ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रष्ठः, अग्रगामिनि ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रष्ठ इति निपात्यते अग्रगामिन्यभिधेये ॥

92. The word प्रष्ठ is irregularly formed when denoting ‘a chief’ or ‘one who goes in front’.

Thus प्रष्ठोऽश्व meaning a ‘best horse’. Why do we say when meaning ‘going in front’? Observe प्रस्थे हिमवतः पुण्डे “On the sacred peak of the Himalaya”. प्रस्थो शीहीणाम् ‘a measure of barley’.

वृक्षासनयोर्विष्टरः ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृक्ष, आसनयोः, विष्टरः ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ विष्टर इति निपात्यते वृक्षे आसने च वाच्ये । विपूर्वस्य स्थृणातेः षष्ठं निपात्यते ॥

93. The word विष्टर is irregularly formed in the sense of “tree” and “seat.”

This word is formed by adding the affix अप् to the root स्थु preceded by the preposition वि ॥ Thus विष्टरो वृक्षः ॥ विष्टरमासनम् ॥

Why do we say when meaning a ‘tree’ or a ‘seat’? Observe औलपिवाक्यस्य विस्तरः ॥ See sūtra III. 3. 33. by which अप् is added here instead of धम् ॥

छन्दोनाम्नि च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दोनाम्नि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विष्टर इतिं निपात्यते । विपूर्वात्सृ इत्येतस्माद्भास्तोः छन्दोनाम्नि चेत्येवं विहित इति विष्टर इत्यपि प्रकृते विष्टर इत्यत्र विज्ञायते ॥

94. Also when it is the name of a metre, the irregular form विष्टर is used.

By Sūtra III. 3. 34 the word विष्टर is formed denoting a sort of metre called विष्टरपांक्तिः ॥

Why do we say when denoting ‘the name of a chandas’? Observe पटस्य विस्तारः ॥

In fact this sūtra makes unnecessary the sutra III. 3. 34. To avoid this difficulty, some say that the sūtra III. 3. 34 is not confined to the preposition वि, so that we can form प्रस्तारपङ्क्तिः संसारपङ्क्तिः ॥

गवियुधिभ्यां स्थिरः ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ गवि, युधिभ्याम्, स्थिरः ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ गवियुधिभ्याषु तत्तरस्य स्थिरसकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

95. The स् of स्थिरः is changed to ष् after the words गवि and युधि ॥

Thus गवियुधिर, युधियुधिर ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 44. and the 7th case affix is not elided by VI. 3. 9. though the word गो does not end in a consonant, yet it retains its Locative ending by virtue of this sūtra.

विकुशमिपरिभ्यः स्थलम् ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वि, कु, शमि, परिभ्यः, स्थलम् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ वि कु शमि॒ं परि इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य स्थलसकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो भवति ॥

96. ष् is substituted for स् in स्थल after वि, कु, शमि, and परि ॥

Thus विष्टलम्, कुष्टलम्, शमिष्टलम् and परिष्टलम् ॥ The word वि, कु and परि are compounded under II. 2. 18.; the word शमि forms a genitive by VI. 3. 63. In the aphorism the word शमि is shown with a short इ, indicating thereby that when the इ is not shortened, the cerebral change does not take place; as शमी-स्थलम्

अम्बाम्बगोभूमिसव्यापद्वित्रिकुशेकुशङ्कुडगुमजिपुञ्जिपरमेवर्हिर्द्वयग्निभ्यः स्थः ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अम्ब, आम्ब, गो, भूमि, सव्या, अप, द्वि, त्रि, कु, शेकु, शङ्कु, अडगु, मजिं, पुञ्जि, परमे, वर्हिस्, दिवि, अग्निभ्यः, स्थः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अम्ब आम्ब गो भूमि अप द्वि त्रि कु शेकु शङ्कु अडगु मजिं पुञ्जि परमे वर्हिस् दिवि अग्नि इयेत्येत्य उत्तरस्य स्थशब्दसकारस्य मूर्दन्यादेशो भवति ॥ वाचिकम् ॥ स्थस्थिन्स्थृणामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

97. The स् of स्थ is changed to ष् after अम्ब, आम्ब, गो, भूमि, सव्या, अप, द्वि, त्रि, कु, शेकु शङ्कु, अडगु, मजिं, पुञ्जि, परमे, वर्हिस्, दिवि and अग्नि ॥

Thus अम्बष्टः, आम्बष्टः, गोष्टः, भूमिष्टः, सव्येष्टः, अपष्टः, हिष्टः, त्रिष्टः, कुष्टः, शेकुष्टः, शङ्कुष्टः, अडगुष्टः, मजिष्टः, पुञ्जिष्टः, परमेष्टः, वर्हिष्टः, दिविष्टः, अग्निष्टः ॥

The word स्थ is shown in the sūtra in the first case, and means the word-form स्थ, and it is not the genitive case of स्था, for then the rule would apply to गोस्थानम्, भूमिस्थानम्, &c.

*Vart*—The same change takes place in स्था, स्थिन्, and स्थृ ॥ As सव्येष्टः । परमेष्टः । सव्येष्टा सारथिः ॥

सुषामादिषु च ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुषामादि षु, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुषामादिषु शब्देषु सकारस्य मूर्दन्यादेशो भवति ॥

98. The स् is changed to ष् in the words सुषामन् and the rest.

Thus सुषामा ब्राह्मणः = शोभनम् साम अस्य असौ ॥

1 सुषामा, 2 निःषामा, 3 दुःषामा, 4 सुषेष्ठः, 5 निषेष्ठः (निःषेष्ठः), 6 दुःषेष्ठः, 7 सुषंधिः, 8 निःषंधिः (निःषंधिः), 9 दुःषंधिः, 10 सुष्टु (सुष्टु), 11 दुष्टु (दुष्टु), 12 गौरिष्वक्यः संज्ञायम्, 13 प्रतिष्णिका, 14 जलाषाङ्गम्, 15 नौषेचनम् (नौषेवनम्), 16 दुन्तुषेष्ववेणम् (दुन्तुषेष्वचनम्; °षेवनम्) 17 एति संज्ञायामगात्, 18 हस्तिष्णः, 19 नक्षत्राद्वा, रोहिणीष्णः ॥ आकृतिगण ॥

Some of the above words would have been governed by the prohibition in VIII. 3. 111, others would never have taken ष, hence their inclusion in this list. The word षु is here a karmapravachaniya (I. 4. 94) and निर् and दुर् also are not upasargas, because they are so only in connection with the verbs गम and की; so VIII. 3. 65 does not apply to सेषु preceded by निर् and दुर् ॥ The words निःषेष्ठः and दुःषेष्ठः = निर्गतः सेष्ठः or दुर्गतः सेष्ठः ॥ The word सेष्ठु here is a षभ्र formed word, from षिष्ठू हिसा संराङ्गोः; if it be derived from

पिध गत्याप्, then also, the word is included here in order to prevent the application of VIII. 3. 113. The words सुषन्धिः, हुःषन्धिः &c are derived from धा with the prepositions शु and सम्, and the affix कि (III. 3. 92); and the स of सम् is changed to ए॥ The words सुष्टु, बुष्टु are Unādi formed words (Un. I. 25). The word गौत्रिक्यः is a Bahuvrīhi, the स of सक्रिय is changed to ए and the Samāsānta एव् is added (V. 4. 113). The long ई of the first member is shortened by VI. 3. 63. The word प्रतिभिन्नका is formed by adding the Preposition प्रति to the root भा, and the affix अङ् (III. 3. 106), and we have प्रतिभ्वा with वा; then का is added by V. 3. 73, and वा shortened (VII. 4. 13), and ई added by VII. 3. 44. The word नैषेचने is formed by adding ल्पुद् to सिष्॥ दुन्दुभिषेषण is also a ल्पुद् formed word from सेवति or सीघ्वति॥

पति संज्ञायामगात् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पति, संज्ञायाम्, अगात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकारपरस्य सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्योदेशो भवति इष्कोहुत्तरस्यागकारात्परस्य संज्ञायां विषये ॥

99 The स् followed by ए and preceded by इष् or कु is changed to ए, when the word is a name, and when the स् is not preceded by ए॥

Thus हरयः सेना अस्य=हरिषेणः, परितः सेना अस्य=परिषेणः, जातुषेणी॥ Why do we say 'followed by ए'? Observe हस्तिक्यम्॥ Why do we say 'when a Name'? Observe पृथ्वी सेना वस्य स=पृथुसेनो राजा (VI. 3. 34). Why do we say 'when the स् is not preceded by ए'? Observe विष्वकृ सेनः॥ The phrase इष्कोः is understood here also, so the rule does not apply to सर्वसेनः॥

नक्षत्राद्वा ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ नक्षत्रात्, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नक्षत्रवाच्चिनः शब्दादुत्तरस्य सकारस्य वा एति संज्ञायामगकाराद् मूर्द्धन्यो भवति ॥

100 When the preceding word is the name of a Lunar mansion, the ए substitution for स् under the above mentioned circumstances is optional.

Thus रोहिणिषेणः or रोहिणिसेनः, भरणिषेणः or भरणिसेनः॥ But not here शतभिष्वकृ सेनः were the preceded letter is ए॥ These two sūtras 99 and 100 are realy Gaṇa-sūtras, being read in the शुषामादि Gaṇa. The author of Kāsikā has raised them to the rank of full sūtras.

All cerebral ए changes, when not referable to any specific rule, should be classified under this Sushāmādi gaṇa.

हस्त्वात्तादौ तद्विते ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हस्त्वात्, तादौ, तद्विते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इस्त्वादुत्तरस्य सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्योदेशो भवति तादौ तद्विते परतः ॥

वाच्चिनः ॥ तिङ्गन्तस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

101. ए is substituted for a final स् preceded by a short इ or उ before a Taddhita affix beginning with त॥

The following are the affixes before which this change takes place, namely, तर्, तम्, तय्, त्वं, तल्, तस्, त्यप् ॥ As तर्—सर्पिष्टरम्, यज्ञुष्टरम् । तम् । तर्पिष्टमम् । यज्ञुष्टमम् । तय् । चतुष्टये ब्राह्मणानां निकेताः । त्वं । सर्पिष्ट्रम् । यज्ञुष्ट्रम् । तल् । सर्पिष्टा । यज्ञुष्टा । तस् । सर्पिष्टी, यज्ञुष्टः । त्यप् । अविष्ट्यो वर्द्धते । हस्ताविति किम् । गीस्तरा । धूस्तरा । तादाविति किम् । सर्पिस्ताङ्गवति । प्रत्ययसकारस्य स्थात्पदाद्योरिति सत्यपि प्रतियेषे प्रकृतिसकारस्य स्थात् । तद्वितहति किम् । सर्पिस्तराति ॥

Why do we say before affixes beginning with त् ॥ Observe सर्पिस्ताङ्गवति ॥

*Q.*—But this स् would never have been changed to ष् because of the prohibition in VIII. 3. III, how can you then give this counter-example?

*Ans.*—Though the स् of the affix सात् is prohibited by VIII. 3. III, yet the counter-example is valid, because the स् of the base सर्पिस् is also not changed. Why do we say ‘of a Taddhita’? Observe सर्पिस्तराति ॥

*Vart* :—Prohibition must be stated of finite verbs before Taddhita affixes. As भिन्नुस्तराम् । छिन्नुस्तराम् ॥ These are the Potential third person plural of भिन्न् and छिन्न् with the augment आसुऽ ; the Taddhita affix तर्प् is added by V. 3. 56, and आम् is added by V. 4. 11.

*Vart* :—Prohibition must be stated with regard to पुंस् as पुंस्त्यम् पुंस्ता ॥

निस्तप्तपतावनासेवने ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ निसः, तपतौ, अनासेवने ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ निसः सकारस्य मूर्ढन्यादेशो भवति तपतौ परतोनासेवनर्थे ॥

102. ष् is substituted for the स् of निस् before the verb तप् when the meaning is not that of ‘repeatedly making red hot’.

The word असेवन means doing a thing repeatedly and here it means making it red-hot repeatedly. Thus निष्टप्तिः मुवर्णम् = सकृत् अग्निष्ट् स्पर्शयति i. e. he puts the gold into fire only once.

Why do we say when not meaning repeatedly. Observe निस्तप्ति शुचण  
मुवर्णकारः = पुनः पुनर्गिर्स्पर्शयति ॥

In the sentences निष्टप्तं रक्षः, निष्टप्ता अरातयः the change has taken place either as a Vedic irregularity or because the sense of repeatedness is not implied here.

युष्मत्तत्तत्तश्चन्तःपादम् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ युष्मत्, तत्, तत्तश्चुः पु, अन्तः पादम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मत् तत् तत्तश्च इत्येतेषु तकारादिषु परतः सकारस्य मूर्ढन्यादेशो भवति स चेव्सकारोन्तः पादं भवति ॥

103. The स् standing in the inner half of a stanza is changed to ष् before the त of त्वम् &c. and तद् and तत्तश्चुम् ॥

The word युज्मद् here means the substitutes स्वम्, स्वाम्, ते, तव. As अग्निः, नामासीत् ॥ स्वा, अग्निद्वा वर्जयामसि ॥ ते, अग्निएं विश्वमानय ॥ तव, अपूर्वमे सधिष्ठव, ( Rig VIII. 43. 9 ) ॥ तत्, अग्निद्विभवमापृणाति, ( Rig X. 2. 4 ) ततक्षुल्, व्यावापृथिवी निष्टतक्षुः तु ॥ अन्तः-पाहमिति किम्, नित्यमालनो विदाभूदग्रिस्तत्पुनराह जातवेदो विष्वर्धणिः ॥

Why do we say in the inner half of a stanza? Observe यन्ममालनो मिन्वाभूवग्नि स्तत्पुनराह जातवेदो विष्वर्धणिः ॥ Here the word अग्निः is at the *end* of the first stanza while तत् is at the *beginning* of the second stanza, therefore the स् of अग्निस् is not in the middle of a stanza.

यजुष्येकेषाम् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यजुषि, एकेषाम् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ यजुषि विष्ये युज्मत्ततक्षुः तु परत एकेषामाचार्याणां मतेन सकारस्य मूर्जन्यादेशो भवति ॥

107. In the opinion of some, the above change takes place in Yajurveda also.

Thus अर्चिर्भिन्नम् or अर्चिर्भिस्त्वम् । अग्निंदमम् or अग्निस्तेमम् । अग्नित् or अग्निस्तत् । अर्चिर्भिष्टतक्षुः or अर्चिर्भिस्ततक्षुः ॥

स्तुतस्तोमयोश्छन्दसि ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तुतस्तोमयोः, छन्दसि ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ एकेषामिति वर्तते । स्तुत स्तोम इत्येतयोः सकारस्य छन्दसि विष्ये मूर्जन्यादेशो भवति एकेषामाचार्याणां मतेन छन्दसिविष्ये ।

105. The स् of स्तुत and स्तोम, in the Chhandas, is changed to ष् i.e. the opinion of some.

Thus त्रिभिष्टुतस्य or त्रिभिष्टुतस्य, गोद्योमं षोडशिनम् or गोस्तोमं षोडशिनम् ॥ This change would have taken place by the general rule contained in the next sūtra VIII. 3. 106, the special mention of स्तुत and स्तोम here is a mere amplification. The word छन्दसि of this sūtra governs the subsequent sutra also.

पूर्वपदात् ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वपदात् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वपदस्यात्रिमित्तादुत्तरस्य सकारस्य मूर्जन्यादेशो भवति छन्दसि विष्ये एकेषामाचार्याणां मतेन ।

106. In the Chhandas, according to some, स् is changed to ष्, when it stands in the beginning of a second word, preceded by a word ending in इ &c.

The words छन्दसि and एकेषां are both understood here. Thus द्विषन्धिः or द्विसन्धिः; त्रिषन्धिः or त्रिसन्धिः; मषुषानम् or मषुस्यानम्, द्विषाहस्रं चिन्वीत or द्विषाहस्रं चिन्वीत ॥

The word पूर्वपद here means the first member of a compound word as well as the prior word other than that in a compound. Thus त्रिःपूर्वस्याय or त्रिःसपूर्वस्याय ॥

सुअः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुअः ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ सुभिति निपात इह गृह्णते तस्य पूर्वपदस्यात्रिमित्तादुत्तरस्य मूर्जन्यादेशो भवति छन्दसि विष्ये ।

107. The स of the Particle सु is changed to ष in the Chhandas, when preceded by another word having in it the change-effecting letter इ &c.

Thus अभी षु णः सखीनाम् (Rig. IV. 31. 3) कर्वे उ षु णः (Rig. I. 36. 13). The lengthening takes place by VI. 3. 134, and न changed to ण by VIII. 4. 27.

सनोतेरनः ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनोते:, अनः ।  
वृत्तिः ॥ सनोतेरनकारान्तस्य सकारस्य मूर्जन्यादेशो भवति ।

108. The स of the verb सन्, when it loses its न्, is changed to ष, under the same circumstances.

Thus गोषाः (Rig. IX. 2. 10), formed by the affix विट् (III. 2. 67), the न् is elided by VI. 4. 41. So also नृषा: ॥

Why do we say ‘when it loses its न्’? Observe गोसर्वि वाचमुदीरयन् (Atharv. III. 20. 10). Here the affix is इन् (III. 2. 27). See however गोषणि in Rig. VI. 53. 10.

Though this ष change would have taken place by VIII. 3. 106 also, the separate enumeration is for the sake of niyama or restriction. Some however read the word गोसन्ति in the list of सवनाने words (VIII. 3. 110), and they hold that the proper counter-example is सिसानविष्टति ॥ So also सिसनीः formed by adding क्रिए् to the Derivative root सिसनिस, thus सिसनिस + क्रिए् = सिसनिस् (the अ is elided by VI. 4. 48)+०. add सु, सिसनिस् + स् = सिसनिस् + ० [स् is elided by VI. 1. 68. Now the final स् (of the Desiderative affix सन्) is liable to be changed either to ष or to र् (ह). The ष being asiddha, the ह change takes place.] = सिसनिर् = सिसनीः (the lengthening is by VIII. 2. 76). Here the Desiderative affix सन् is not changed to ष, hence this word is not governed by VIII. 3. 61. This being the object of this sūtra, there will be ष change in सिसानविष्टति in the Causative.

सहे: पृतनार्त्ताभ्यां च ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहे: पृतना-ऋताभ्यांम्, च ।  
वृत्तिः ॥ पृतना ऋत इत्येताभ्यांमुच्चरस्य सहिसकारस्य मूर्जन्यादेशो भवति ।

109. The स of सह is changed to ष, after पृतना and ऋत ॥

Thus पृतनाषाहम्, ऋताषाहम् ॥ Some divide this sūtra into two; as (1) सहे: ; (2) पृतनार्त्ताभ्यांच ॥ So that the rule may apply to ऋतीषहः also. The word षट्टिति is lengthened by VI. 3. 116, in sañhitā : and the ष change takes place in sanhitā only. Otherwise the form is ऋतिसहम् ॥ The word च ‘and’ in the sūtra includes words other than those not mentioned in it. The word ऋतीषहः would be valid by this also.

न रपरस्यपिस्त्रजिस्पृशिस्त्रहिसवनादीनाम् ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ न, र-पर, सूपि, सूजि, स्पृशि, स्पृहि-सवनादीनाम् ।

वृत्तिः ॥ रेकपरस्य सकारस्य सूपि सूजि स्पृशि स्पृहि सवनादीनां च मूर्द्दन्यो न भवति ।

110. The ष् substitution does not take place if र follows the स्, as well as in सूपि, सूजि, स्पृशा स्पृहि, and in सवन and the rest.

Thus विसंसिकायाः काण्डं जुहोति ॥ The word विसंसिक is formed by the affix ष्टुल् (III. 3. 109), विस्थधः कथयति ॥ This word is from the root सूम्यु विश्वासे, the इ॒द् is not added by VII. 2. 15 and the nasal is elided by VI. 4. 24. before the nिष्ठात् ॥ सूपः—पुरा कूरस्य विसूपः ॥ The word विसूपः is formed by the affix कष्टुन् (III. 4. 17), सूजः—वाचो विसर्जनात् ॥ सूशा—दिविस्पृशम् ॥ सूहि—निस्पृहं कथयति ॥

The following is a list of सवनाहि words :—

१ सवने सवने, २ सूते सूते, ३ सोमे सोमे, ४ सवनमुखे सवनमुखे, ५ किंसः किंसः (किंस्यतीति किंसः), ६ अनुसवनमतुसवनम्, ७ गोसनि गोसनिम्, ८ अभ्वसनिमध्वसनिम् ॥ In some books this is the list ९ सवने सवने, १० सवनमुखे सवनमुखे, ११ अनुसवनमतुसवनम् (अनुसवने २), १२ संज्ञायां इहस्पतिसवः, १३ शकुनिसवनम्, १४ सामे, सामे, १५ सुते सुते (सूते २), १६ संवरस्तेर सवरस्तेर, १७ विसं विसम्, १८ किंसं किंसम् (किंसं किंसम्), १९ मुसलं मुसलम् २० गोसनिम्, २१ अभ्वसनिम् ॥

सात्पदायोः ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ सात्, पदायोः ।

वृत्तिः ॥ साविति चैतस्य यडि परतो मूर्द्दन्यादेशो न भवति ।

111. The ष् substitution does not take place in the affix सात् and for that स् which stands at the beginning of a word.

Thus सात् here is the affix ordained by V. 4. 52, and it would have been changed to ष् by VIII. 3. 59. The present sūtra prevents that. The Padādi स् refers to those verbs which in the Dhātupāṭha are taught with a ष्, and for which a स् is substituted. This also is an exception to VIII. 3. 59. Thus अभिसात् । वधिसात् । मधुसात् ॥ So also with Padādi स् as षष्ठि सिष्ठचति, मष्ठु सिष्ठचति ॥

सिचो यडि ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिचः, यडि ।

वृत्तिः ॥ सिचः सकारस्य यडि परतो मूर्द्दन्यादेशो न भवति ।

112. The ष् substitution does not take place in the स् of सिच् of the Intensive.

Thus सेसिच्यते and अभिसेसिच्यते ॥

Q.—The स् of the reduplicate should be changed into ष् by VIII. 3. 65, in अभिसेसिच्यते, and the स् of the root should be changed into ष् by VIII. 3. 64. Because सिच् is one of the roots taught in VIII. 3. 65, and therefore, as this

latter rule prevents the operation of VIII. 3. 111 i. e. पश्चादि स so far as it goes, so it would prevent also the operation of this rule and the form ought to be अभिषेषिष्यते?

*Ans.*—The ष ordained by VIII. 3. 65 prevents only the operation of पश्चादि स of VIII. 3. 111, and not the स of this rule. Therefore the present prohibition is of universal application.

Why do we say in the Intensive. Observe अभिषिष्यति ॥

सेधतेर्गतौ ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सेधतः, गतौ ।  
वृत्तिः ॥ गतौ वर्तमानस्य सेधते: सकारस्य मूर्खन्यादेशो न भवति ।

113. The स् of the verb सेध is not changed to ष when the meaning is that of moving.

Thus अभिसेधयति गाः, परिसेधयति गाः ॥ This is an exception to VIII. 3. 65.

Why do we say 'when meaning to drive'? Observe शिष्यमकार्यात्प्रतिबेधयति ॥ Here the sense is that of preventing or prohibiting.

प्रतिस्तब्धनिस्तब्धौ च ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिस्तब्ध-निस्तब्धौ, च ।  
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिस्तब्ध निस्तब्ध इत्येतौ मूर्खन्यप्रतिषधाय निपात्येते ।

114. The words प्रतिस्तब्ध and निस्तब्ध are anomalous.

In these words the स is not changed to ष, though so required by VIII. 3. 67.

सोढः ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सोढः ।  
वृत्तिः ॥ सहित्यं सोड्हतो गृह्यते तस्य सकारस्य मूर्खन्यादेशो न भवति ।

115. The स् of सोढ form of the root सह is not changed to ष ॥

As परिसोढः, परिसोडुम्, परिसोढब्धम् ॥ This is an exception to VIII. 3. 70.

Why do we say 'when सह assumes the form of सोढ' ॥ Observe परिषहते, विषहते ॥

स्तम्भुसिद्धुसहां चडि ॥ ११६ ॥ वदानि ॥ स्तम्भु-सिद्धु-सहाम्, चडि ।  
वृत्तिः ॥ स्तम्भु सिद्धु सह इत्येतेधां चडि परतः सकारस्य मूर्खन्यादेशो न भवति ।  
वार्तिकः ॥ स्तम्भु सिद्धुसहां चांड उपसर्गादिति वक्तव्यम् ।

116. The ष change does not take place in the reduplicated Aorist of the roots स्तम्भ्, सिद्ध् and सह ॥

The root स्तम्भ required ष change by VIII. 3. 67, and the roots सिद्ध and सह by VIII. 3. 70. Thus पर्यतस्तम्भत्, अभ्यतस्तम्भत् ॥ सिद्धः—पर्यसीषिवत्, असीषिवत् ॥ सहः—पर्यसीषहत्, असीषहत् ॥

*Vārt* :—This prohibition refers to the ष change that is caused by an Upasarga and not to the reduplicate change, as we have illustrated in the above example.

सुनोते: स्यसनोः ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुनोतेः, स्य-सनोः ।  
वृत्तिः ॥ सुनोते: सकारस्य मूर्द्धन्यादेशो न भवति । स्यसनि च परतः ।

117. स् of सु (सुनोति) is not changed to ष in the Future, Conditional and Desiderative.

Thus :—अभिसोष्यति, परिसोष्यति, अ॒यसोष्यत्, पर्यसोष्यत् ॥

What example will you give under Desiderative? सुसूषति ॥ This is not a valid example, for by VIII. 3. 61, the reduplicate will not be changed here. Then we shall give the example अभिसुसूषते ॥ This is not also a proper example, for it is governed by the restrictive rule of VIII. 3. 64. Then this is the example अभिसुसू, निसुसू derived from the desiderative root अभिसुषूषति by the affix विष् ॥ Here the desiderative affix सन् is not changed to ष (VIII. 3. 61) and therefore the second स would have been changed to ष as it comes after a reduplicate.

Why do we say before स्य and सन् ॥ Observe सुषाव ॥

सदिष्वज्जोः परस्य लिंटि ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सदि-ष्वज्जोः, परस्य, लिंटि ।  
वृत्तिः ॥ सहि ष्वज्ज इत्येत्योऽर्द्धात्मोलिंटि परतः सकारस्य परस्य मूर्द्धन्यो न भवति ।

118. The स् of सद् and स्वंज after the reduplicate in the Perfect is not changed to ष ॥

In the Perfect, when these words are reduplicated, there are two स्'s, as ससाद् and सस्वंज ॥ After a preposition, the first स् will be changed to ष, but not so the second. Thus अभिषसाद्, परिषसाद्, निषसाद्, विषसाद्, परिष्वज्जोते, परिष्वज्जे, अभिष्वज्जे ॥ The nasal of स्वंज is elided though here, the लिंट् affix is not किंतु, because it ends in a compound vowel (VI. 4. 24), (I. 2. 5 and 6).

The word स्वंज does not occur in the sūtra, but has been inserted in it by the author of Kāśikā from the following Vārtika :—सदो लिंटि प्रतिषेधे स्वज्जे रूपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् ॥

निव्यभिभ्योऽव्यवाये वा छन्दसि ॥ ११९ ॥ पदीनि ॥ नि-वि-अभिभ्यः, अ॒व्यवाये, वा, छन्दसि ।

वृत्तिः ॥ नि वि अभि इत्येतेभ्य उपसर्गेभ्य उच्चरस्य सकारस्याऽव्यवाये छन्दसि विषये मूर्द्धन्यादेशो न भवति वा ।

119. The ष is optionally substituted in the Chhandas after the prepositions नि, वि and अभि, when the augment अ॒व्य intervenes.

Thus व्यष्टीदत् or व्यस्तीदत् पिता नः; व्यष्टीदत्; or व्यस्तीदत् पिता नः, अभ्यष्टीदत् or अभ्यस्तीदत् ॥

The anuvṛitti of सत् and संज्ञ is not to be read into this sūtra. It is, in fact, a general rule and applies to verbs other than these two. As व्यस्तौत्, व्यष्टौत्, अभ्यस्तौत् or अभ्यष्टौत् ॥

ओ३८।

## अथ अष्टमाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ।

### BOOK EIGHTH.

#### CHAPTER FOURTH.

रपाभ्यां नो णः समानपदे ॥ १ ॥ पठानि ॥ रपाभ्याम्, नः, णः, समानपदे ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ रेफषकाराभ्यामुत्तरस्य नकारस्य जकारादेशो भवति, समानपदस्यै चेत्रिमित्तनिमित्तिनौ भवतः ।  
वर्त्तिकम् ॥ क्षट्वर्णाचाति वन्तव्यम् ॥

1. After इ and औ, the ए is the substitute of उ, when they occur as component letters of the same word.

These letters must be parts of the same pada or word, one being the 'occasion' for the application of the rule as regards the other. As बास्तीर्णम्, विस्तीर्णम्, अवशूर्णम् ॥ So also after औ; as, क्षुण्णाति, पुण्णाति, क्षुण्णाति ॥

The letter ए is included in this aphorism for the sake of subsequent sūtras : for उ will be changed into ए when preceded by औ by rule 41 of this Chapter, as well.

Why do we say "when occurring in the same word?" Observe अग्निर्नयति, वायुर्नयति ॥

Vārtī.—So also after the letter औ ॥ As तिसृणाम्, चतसृणाम्, मातृणाम्, पितृणाम्॥

This vārtīka may well be dispensed with : because the उ in the sūtra is the common sound उ which we perceive both in उ and औ; and so the उ will denote both the vowel औ and the consonant उ. See contra, VIII. 2. 42. Obj. But if even this be so, the letter औ has three parts, its first part is a vowel, in the middle is the उ sound of a quarter mātrā, and a vowel sound at the end. This vowel-sound will *intervene* between the उ-sound and the subsequent न, and will prevent the application of the sūtra, hence the vārtīka is valid?

Ans. This vowel-sound will be no intervention, because it will be included in the exception अद् of the next sūtra. Obj. The vowel-sound at the end of औ is not a *full* vowel of one mātrā, but is of half-mātrā, being only a fragment of औ, and hence is not included in the pratyāhāra अद्, it has no separate

स्थान or प्रयत्न or homogeneity with any vowel. Hence this vowel-sound will prevent the application of this rule. Ans. The ણ change, however, does take place in spite of such intervention of a fragment of a letter, as we know from the jñāpaka of VIII. 4. 39. In the kshubhnādi list there we find नूनमन as an exception, implying that ન is generally changed to ણ after such a fragmentary interposition. Or we may take नूनमन as a jñāpaka, that after the letter ન also the ણ change takes place.

अद्कुप्ताङ्गनुम्ब्यवायेपि ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ अद्कुपु-आङ्ग-नुम्ब्यवाये, अपि ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ अद्कुपु आङ्ग नुम्ब्यवायेपि रेफषकाराम्बानुन्नरस्य नकारस्य णकार आदेशो भवति ।

2. The substitute ણ takes the place of ન, even when a vowel, or ય, ચ, હ or a guttural, or a labial, or the preposition આ, or the augment નુમ्ब changes separation.

The pratyāhāra અદ્વ stands for vowels and the letters હ ચ વ ર. Thus करणમ्, हरणम्, किरिणा, गिरिणा, कुरुणा, गुरुणा &c.

The કુ means all the gutturals, e. g. અકોણ, સૂર્યોણ, ગર્મોણ, અર્ધોણ ॥

The પુ means all the labials, e. g. વર્ષોણ, રેફેણ, ગર્મોણ, ચર્મોણા, વર્મોણા ॥

The આઙ્ગ means the particle આ: e. g. पर्याणद्वम् from नह (VIII. 2. 34) निर-  
ાनुद्वम् (cf VIII. 4. 14). The particle આ is a vowel and so included in અદ્વ pratyā-  
hāra. Its specification in the sūtra shows that the restriction of the rule to the  
letters occurring in the same word, does not apply in the case of આઙ્ગ, in which  
case the rule applies to letters separated by another word.

So also when the anusvāra separates the letters e. g. वृंहणम्, वृंहणीयम् ॥

It is from the root वृहिवृजौ, the નુમ्ब is added, because the root is वृहित (VII. 1. 58) and ન changed to anusvāra by VIII. 3. 24. Q. Well the intervention is here by Anusvāra and not નુમ्ब, why is then નુમ्ब taken in the sūtra?

The word નુમ्ब in the sūtra refers to anusvāra, and must be taken co-extensive with it. Otherwise the rule would not apply to words like तृंहण from तृह स्तृह हिसार्ये ॥ Here the anusvāra is not the substitute of the augment નુમ्ब but an original anusvāra. Even where there is an augment નુમ्ब, but where it is not changed into anusvāra, the rule does not apply. As प्रेन्वनम्, प्रेन्वनीयम् from इविः प्रीननार्यः ॥

The rule will apply even when these letters are combined in any possible way, or occur singly. As અકોણ, here a guttural and a vowel i. e. 2 letters come between ર and ન ॥ See VIII. 3. 58 in the case of ષ ॥

पूर्वपदात्संज्ञायामगः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वपदात्, संज्ञायाम्, अगः ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वपदस्थानिमित्तानुन्नरस्य गकारवर्जिताद् नकारस्य णकार आदेशो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ।

3. So also, ન is replaced by ણ, when the letter occasioning the substitution, occurs in the first member of a compound, and the whole compound is a Name, provided that the first member does not end with the letter ગ ॥

As त्रुणसः, वार्द्धेणसः (a kind of antelope), खरणसः, शूर्पणखा ॥ See V. 4. 118 and IV. 1. 58.

Why do we say "when a Name"? Observe, अर्मनासिकः ॥

Why do we say when 'not ending in the letter न'? Observe; अवग्रहनम् ॥

Some say, that this sūtra is a नियम or a restrictive rule, and not a विधि or original enunciation, so that the substitution takes place, only when the word is a *Name*, and not otherwise. A compound is one word or समानपद, though composed of two or more words or पद ॥ Therefore by VIII. 4. 11 the न will always be changed into ण when preceded by र or ष. But the present sūtra restricts its scope, to those cases only, when the compound denotes a *Name*, as not in अर्मनासिका ॥ The word पूर्वपद is a relative term and connotes an उत्तरपद ॥ The present sūtra therefore applies to those cases where the र or ष is in the पूर्वपद, and न occurs in the उत्तरपद ॥ It therefore, does not apply to ताद्दित words, nor when both the letters occur in the पूर्वपद ॥ In the case of a Taddhita, there is a पूर्वपद, but there is no properly speaking उत्तरपद ॥ Thus खरपस्यापत्यं = खारपायणः (IV. 1. 99). Here the affix अयन is equivalent to अपत्यं, and खरप is the Pūrvapada. But the affix अयन not being a Pada, we cannot call it an uttara pada. Hence न will be changed into ण though खारपायण is not an Appellative but a generic term. So also मातृभोगीय हितः = मातृभोगीणः with ख affix. Similarly in करणमित्रः; the words र and न both occur in the Pūrvapada and are not affected by this rule, but by the general rule VIII. 4. 1. So also the proviso relating to न, only prohibits the change of न into ण, but does not prohibit the restrictive character of this sūtra.

According to others, this sūtra is an original enunciation or a Vidhi rule, and not a Niyama rule. They say that the word समानपद in VIII. 4. 1 is equivalent to नित्यं पदं i. e. a word integral and indivisible into component words. In other words, समानपद means, a 'simple-word'. The present sūtra therefore enunciates a new rule for a "compound-word". For in a compound or समास, there being a division of पूर्वपद and an उत्तरपद, we cannot say that a compound is a समानपद or indivisible word. Hence this sūtra is a विधि ॥

The sūtra should be thus divided :— पूर्वपदात् संज्ञायाम् one sūtra, and अग्नः another. So that every rule relating to ण change would be debarred with regard to न intervention.

वनं पुरगामिश्रकासिभ्रकाशारिकाकोटराग्रेभ्यः ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वनम्, पुरगा, मिश्रका-सिभ्रका-शारिका-कोटराग्रेभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वपदात्संज्ञायामिति वर्तते । पुरगा मिश्रका सिभ्रका शारिका कोटरा अमे इत्येतेभ्यः पूर्वपदेभ्य उत्तरस्य वननकारस्य एकाग्रदेशो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ।

4. The न of वन, is changed into ण, when preceded by the words puragâ, miśrakâ, sidhrakâ, sarikâ, koṭarâ, and

agree, as first members of the compound, and the whole compound is a name.

The words पूर्वपदात् and संज्ञायाम् of the last sūtra, are to be read into this aphorism. Thus पुरगावणम्, मिश्रकावणम्, सिन्ध्रकावणं, कोटरावणम्, अभेवणम् (II. 2. 31) शारिकावणम् ॥

The lengthening of the finals in the above is by VI. 3. 117. Though the word अभेवणं is not a Name, yet the rule VI. 3. 9, applies to it and the case-affix is not elided, because it is so read in Rājadantādi list (II. 2. 31).

The substitution of ण for न would have taken place by the preceding rule. The separate enunciation of the rule with regard to the word वन् shows that this is a restrictive or नियम rule. The न of वन् is changed into ण, when preceded by these words only and no other. Thus कुबेरवनं, शतधारवनम्, असिपच्चवनम्॥

प्रनिरन्तःशरेष्टुप्लक्षाभ्रकार्थ्यखदिरपीयूक्षाभ्योसंज्ञायामपि ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥  
प्र-निर-अन्तर-शर-इक्षु-पुक्षा-आभ्र-कार्थ्य-खदिर-पीयूक्षाभ्यः संज्ञायां, अपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प निर् अन्तर् शर इक्षु भक्ष आभ्र कार्थ्य खदिर पीयूक्षा इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य वननकारस्य संज्ञायाम् संज्ञायामपि जकारादेशो भवति ।

5. The न of वन् is replaced by ण, even when the compound is not a Name, when it is preceded by the words pra, nir, antar, sara, ikshu, plaksha, amra, kárshya, khadira, and píyûkshā.

Thus प्रवणे यष्टम्; निर्वणे प्रतिधीयते, अन्तर्वणे, शरवणम्, इक्षुवणम्, पुक्षवणम्, आभ्रवणम्, कार्थ्यवणम्, खदिरवणम् and पीयूक्षावणम् ॥

The words प्रवणं and निर्वणं are प्राप्तिः compounds. अन्तर्वणं is an Avyayī-  
bhāva in the sense of a case-affix. The rest are Genitive compounds.

विभाषौषधिवनस्पतिभ्यः ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा ओषधि-वनस्पतिभ्यः ॥  
वृणिः ॥ ओषधिवाचि यत्पूर्वपदं वनस्पतिवाचि तत्स्थानिमित्तादुत्तरस्य वननकारस्य जकार आदेशो भवति विभाषा ।

वार्त्तिकः ॥ द्व्यक्षरङ्गक्षरेभ्य इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ इरिकादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

Kārika फली वनस्पतिझैयो वृक्षाः पुष्पफलोपगाः ।  
ओषधः फलपाकान्ता लता गुल्माभ वीरुधः ॥

6. The न of वन् is optionally replaced by ण, when the cause of change occurs in the first member of the compound and which denotes a perrenial herb or a forest tree.

When the pūrvapada is a word denoting ओषधि or a perenniel herb, or denoting a वनस्पति or a tree, and it has a change-producing letter, then the न of वन् is replaced by ण ॥ This is an optional rule. Thus :—दुर्वावनम् or दुर्वावणम्;

मूर्वावणम् or मूर्वावनम् ॥ Here वूर्वा and मूर्वा are names of ओषधि ॥ Similarly शिरीषवनं or शिरीषवणम्; बदरीवणं or बदरीवनं ॥

*Vart*—This rule applies when the first word is a dissyllabic or trisyllabic word. Therefore the change does not occur in देवदासवनम्; भद्रवासवनम् ॥

*Vart*—Prohibition should be stated with regard to the words इरका &c. As इरिकावनम्, तिमिरकावनम् ॥

Though there is a distinction, botanically speaking, between a वृक्ष and a वनस्पति also; yet in this sūtra, the word वनस्पति includes वृक्ष also.

*Kṛikā*—Technically speaking वनस्पति is a tree that bears fruit apparently without a flower, as a fig tree udumbara. वृक्ष is a tree that bears both flower and fruit, ओषधि is an annual herb, that dies after the ripening of the fruit, and creepers and tubercles are called वीरुधः ॥

अहोऽदन्तात् ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहः, अदन्तात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदन्तं यन्पूर्वपदं तत्स्थान्निमित्तादुच्चरस्याहो नकारस्य णकार आदेशो भवाति ।

7. The ण is the substitute of न of अहन्, when it is preceded by a word ending in अ, having in it a letter capable of producing the change.

Thus पूर्वाहणः “fore-noon”; अपराहणः “after-noon”.

Why do we say “ending in अ”? Observe, निरहः, दुरहः ॥

The word अहः is substituted for अहन् by V. 4. 88. The word अहः being used in the sūtra as ending in अ, the rule does not apply to other words. Thus वीर्धाही शरत् ॥ The word अहः in the sūtra is in the nominative case, and should not be construed as the genitive of अहन्, because all sthānins are exhibited in Nominatives as, वनं (VIII. 4. 4), वाहनं (VIII. 4. 8), यानं &c. The compounding takes place by II. 2. 1, then is added the samāśānta affix टच् (V. 4. 91), and अहः substitution by V. 4. 88. The word वीर्धाही is a Bahuvrihi compound and not a Tatpurusha, and hence the affix टच् does not apply to it. The feminine डीप् is added by IV. 1. 28, there is elision of अ of अहन् by VI. 4. 134.

वाहनमाहितात् ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाहनम्, आहितात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आहितवाच्च यन्पूर्वपदं तत्स्थान्निमित्तादुच्चरस्य वाहननकारस्य णकार आदेशो भवाति ।

8. The न of वाहन is changed into ण, when the letter, producing the change, occurs in the first member of a compound, denoting the thing carried.

Thus इक्षुवाहणम् ‘a sugar-cart’. शरवाहणम् “a reed-cart”. इभवाहणम् ‘a hay-cart’.

The thing which being placed on a cart is carried, is called आहित ॥

Why do we say “denoting the thing carried”. Observe शक्तिवाहणम् “a vehicle belonging to Dākshi”.

The word वाहन is formed by adding त्युट् to वह्, and lengthening of the penultimate is valid by the nipātana of this sūtra.

**पानं देशो ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पानम्, देशो ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ पाननकारस्य पूर्वपदस्थान्त्रिमित्तादुत्तरस्य देशाभिधाने जकार आदेशो भवति ।

9. The न of पान is changed into ण, when it occurs as the second member of a compound, the first member of which contains a letter causing change; and the whole compound denotes a country or a people.

The word पान is formed by the affix त्युट् III. 3. 113. Thus क्षीरपाणा दशीनराः = क्षीरपाणं येषां 'the milk-drinking Uśinaras'. खुरापाणाः प्राच्याः 'the wine-drinking Prāchyas'. सौवीरपाणा बाहुकाः "the sauvīra-drinking Bāhlikas". कषायपाणा गान्धाराः &c.

Why do we say "when denoting a country"? Observe इक्षिपानं the drink of the Dākshis.

The words उर्ध्वीनर and the rest are applied to persons also through the medium of being country-names.

**वा भावकरणयोः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, भाव-करणयोः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ भावे करणे च यः पानशब्दस्तदीयस्य नकारस्य जकार आदेशो भवति वा पूर्वपदस्थान्त्रिमित्तादुत्तरस्य ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वाप्रकरणे गिरिनदीवीनामुपसंख्यानम् ।

10. Optionally when the compound denotes a condition or an instrument, the न of पान is changed into ण, when it is a second member, the cause of change occurring in the first member in a compound.

Thus क्षीरपाणम् or क्षीरपानम् "drinking of milk" कषायपानम् or कषायपाणम् 'drinking of kashāya'. खुरापाणम् or खुरापानम् &c are examples of भाव or condition.

Similarly क्षीरपाणः of क्षीरपानः कंसः 'a vessel for drinking milk' This is an example of करण or instrument.

*Vartī* :— Optionally so in the case of गिरिनदी &c. Thus गिरिनदी or गिरिणदी; चक्रनदी or चक्रणदी, चक्रनितम्बा or चक्रणितम्बा ॥

**प्रातिपदिकान्तनुभिक्षुच ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रातिपदिकान्त-नुम्-विभक्तिषु, च ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ वेति वर्तते । प्रातिपदिकान्ते नुमविभक्तौ च यो नकारस्य पूर्वपदस्थान्त्रिमित्तादुत्तरस्य वा जकार आदेशो भवति । वार्त्तिकम् ॥ युवादीनां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥**

11. Optionally ण is substituted for न when it stands at the end of a Nominal-stem (Prātipadika) or is the augment नुम् or is न of a case-affix, (when the cause of change occurs in the first member of the compound).

Thus, to take the case a प्रतिपदिकान्त first. माषवाविणौ or माषवाविनौ from माषवाविन् 'mâsha-sowing' formed by जिने under III. 2. 81.

To take the example of a तुम् augment माषवापणि or माषवापा नि, श्रीहिवापाणि or श्रीहिवापानि nom. pl. neut. The augment तुम् is here added by VII. 1. 72 from माषान् वपयन्ति = माषवाप with कर्मण अण्, the plural शि is added by VII. 1. 20, and then तुम् !!

To take the विभक्ति or case-termination, माषवापेण or माषवापेन, श्रीहिवापेण or श्रीहिवापेन !!

\* The word प्रतिपदिकान्त means 'final in a Prâtipadika'. But here it means 'final in a prâtipadika which is a second member, of compound, the first member containing the cause of change'. Therefore the change does not take place in गर्गीणां भगिनी = गर्गभगिनी "the sister of Garga". But गर्गभगिनी if the word is derived from गर्गभगः 'the share of Garga', with the adjectival affix इन्, feminine इनी, meaning, "enjoying the share of Garga." In this case, like the word मातृ-भोगीणः 'fit to be possessed by a mother': the change will invariably take place.

The word माषवापिणी or नी is to be understood to have a final न्, the affix being added afterwards in accordance with the following maxim :—(II. 2. 19). "It should be stated that Gatis, Kârakas, and Upapadas are compounded with bases that end with krit-affixes, before a case termination or a feminine affix has been added to the latter" गतिकारकोपवानां कृद्धिः सह समासवचनं प्राक् सुखुत्पत्तेः !!

Therefore the composition takes place first with the word ending in the krit affix, as माषवापिन् (माष + वापिन्), and thus the second term वापिन् is a Prâtipadika which ends in न्, and so the rule is applied to it, when the feminine affix is added.

Similarly तुम् is not considered as the end portion of the second member of the compound, but as the end-portion of the full compound word.

*Vart* :—Prohibition must be stated of the words खुवा &c. As आर्यशूना (VI. 4. 133 vocalisation), शत्रियशूना !! प्रपक्ववानि is a gati-samas, शीर्षाद्वी पात् !!

एकाज्ञुत्तरपदे णः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकाच्, उत्तरपदे, णः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकाज्ञुत्तरपदे यस्य स एकाज्ञुत्तरपदः । तस्मिन्नेकाज्ञुत्तरपदसमाते प्रतिपदिकान्ततुम्बिभक्तियु पूर्वपदस्थानिनित्तादुत्तरस्य नकारस्य यकार आदेशो भवति ।

12. In a compound, the second member of which is a monosyllable, there is ण in the room of न of the second member, provided that the न is at the end of a prâtipadika, or is the augment तुम्, or occurs in a vibhakti ; and when the first member contains a cause of change.

Thus वृत्रहणौ and वृत्रहणः 'the Vṛitra-killer'. शीरपाणि "Drinkers of milk": शुरपाणि 'drinkers of wine': being examples of तुम् VII. 3. 88, शीरपेण and शुरपेण are examples of case-terminations.

Why the letter ण is repeated in this sūtra, while its anuvṛitti was understood from the context? It is repeated in order to show that this is not an optional rule, but an obligatory rule. In fact, it shows that the anuvṛitti of चा 'optional' ceases, and does not extend further.

**कुमति च ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुमति, च ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्वन्वाति चोचरपदे प्रातिपदिकान्तनुभिभक्तिषु पूर्वपदस्यान्तिमित्तादुच्चरस्य नकारस्य पकारादेशो भवति ।

13. In a compound, the second member of which contains a guttural, there is ण in the room of न, that follows anything which standing in the prior member is qualified to cause the change, provided the न be at the end of a prātipadika, or be the augment नुम्, or occur in a vibhakti.

If the second part of a compound contains a letter of the class क्, the change is obligatory, even though the second part be not monosyllabic. As वस्त्रयुगिनौ, वस्त्रयुगिनः, स्वर्गकामिनौ, वृथगामिनौ ॥ तुषः—वस्त्रयुगाणि, खरयुगाणि ॥ विभक्तिः—वस्त्रयुगीण, खरयुगेण ॥

The word वस्त्रयुगिनौ is a compound of वस्त्र with युगिन् (the affix इनि is added first to युग and then the word so formed is compounded with vastra). Thus the न् becomes प्रातिपदिकान्त i.e. it becomes the final of a Nominal-stem, which stands as a second member in a compound.

**उपसर्गादसमासेऽपि णोपदेशस्य ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गात्, अ-समासे, अपि, णोपदेशस्य ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ ण उपदेशे यस्यासौ णोपदेशः । णोपदेशस्य धातोर्यो नकारः तस्य उपसर्गस्थान्तिमित्तादुच्चरस्य नकारादेशो भवति असमासेऽपि समासेऽपि ।

14. Of a root which has ण in its original enunciation, when it comes after a cause of such change standing in an upasarga, even though the word be not a samāsa, the न is changed into ण ॥

The word णोपदेश means a root which is enunciated in the Dhātupāṭha with an initial ण ॥ Thus प्रणमति 'he bows'. परिणमति, प्रणायकः 'a leader' परिणायकः &c.

Why do we say "after an Upasarga"? Observe प्रणायकः=प्रगता नायका अस्माद् देशात् 'a country without a leader'. Here the word म् is not an upasarga, but a mere nipāta. See I. 4. 57, 58 and 59. In fact, म् is upasarga here with regard to गत् understood, and न् not with regard to नी ॥

Why do we say "even when it is not a compound?" Because by context, the anuvṛitti of the word पूर्वपद, which is current throughout this sub-

division, would have been understood in this sūtra also, and the rule would have applied to samāsas only, for there only we have pūrvapada. By using the word असंमासे॑ it is shown that the adhikāra of pūrvapada ceases, and the rule applies to non-compounds also where there is no पूर्वपद् ॥

Why do we say "having ण in Upadeśa"? Observe प्रनर्दिति, प्रनर्दितुम्, प्रनर्दिकः ॥ For the root नैः is recited in Dhātupāṭha with न ॥ There are eight such roots नैः, नाद्, नाय्, नाध्, नन्, नक्ष्, नृ, नृत् ॥ See VI. I. 65.

**हिनुमीना ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हिनु-मीना, ॥**

बृत्तिः ॥ विदु मीना इत्येतयोपसर्गस्थान्निमिच्चादुच्चरस्य नकारस्य जकारादेशो भवति ।

15. The न of हिनु and मीना is changed into ण, when coming after an upasarga containing in it a cause of change.

Thus प्रहिणोति, प्रहिणुतः, प्रमीणाति, प्रमीणीतः ॥ The root हि belongs to Svādi class of verbs and takes the vikaraṇa तु technically इत्तु; and the root मी belongs to Kryādi class which takes the vikaraṇa आ ॥ In the sūtra the verbs are shown with the vikaraṇas affixed. Under certain circumstances the forms of the vikaraṇa is changed from तु to नी and ना to नी, but the rule still applies, because the substitute of an अच् or vowel is like the principal. See I. I. 57.

**आनि लोट् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आनि, लोट् ॥**

बृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गादिति वर्तते । आनीत्येतस्य लोडादेशस्योपसर्गस्थान्निमिच्चादुच्चरस्य नकारस्य जकारादेशो भवति ।

16. The न of आनि, the affix of the Imperative, 1st Person, is changed into ण when it follows a letter competent to cause such a change standing in an Upasarga.

The word आनि is the termination of the Imperative. Thus प्रवपाणि, प्रविपाणि, प्रथाणि, परिथाणि ॥

Why do we say 'the Imperative'? Observe प्रवपानि मांसानि ॥ Here आनि is the neuter plural termination, and the word means प्रकृष्टा वपा वेषु, तानि ॥

According to Padamanjari, the employment of the word लोट् in the sūtra is redundant. For without it also आनि would have meant the *Imperative* affix, and not the Neuter termination, on the maxim of अर्थवद् भ्रहण &c. Moreover in the noun प्रवपानि, प्र is not an upasarga at all, on the maxim अत् कियायुक्ताः प्रात्यू-स्तं प्रति गति-उपसर्ग-संज्ञा भवतः ॥

**नेर्गदनदपतपदघुमास्यतिहन्तियातिवातिद्रातिप्सातिवपतिवहतिशाम्यतिचिनोति देगिथषु च ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ने॒: गद्-नद्-पत्-पद-घु-मा-स्यति-हन्ति-याति-चाति-द्राति-प्साति-वपति-वहति-शाम्यति-चिनोति-देगिथषु, च ॥**

बृत्तिः ॥ निरित्येतस्योपसर्गस्थान्निमिच्चादुच्चरस्य नकारस्य जकारादेशो भवति गद नद पत पद घु मा स्यति हन्ति याति चाति द्राति प्साति वपति वहति शाम्यति चिनोति देगिथ इत्येतेषु परतः ।

17. The ण् is the substitute of न् of the prefix नि, following a cause for such change standing in an upasarga, when these verbs follow, gad 'to speak', nad 'to be happy', pat 'to fall', pad 'to go', the ghu verbs, mā 'to measure', sho 'to destroy', han 'to kill', yâ 'to go', vâ 'to blow', drâ 'to flee', psâ 'to eat', vap 'to weave', vah 'to bear', sam 'to be tranquil', chi 'to collect', and dih 'to anoint'.

Thus

गदः, प्रणिगदति, परिणिगदति	नदः, प्रणिनदति, परिणिनदति
पत्, प्रणिपतति, परिणिपतति,	पद्, प्रणिपदते, परिणिपदते
षुः, प्रणिषुप्ताति, परिणिषुप्ताति, प्रणिष्ठाति, परिणिष्ठाति	
माङ्, प्रणिमाङ्गीते, परिणिमाङ्गीते	मेङ्, प्रणिमयते, परिणिमयते

*Ishti*—By the word मा in the sūtra, both verbs माङ् and मेङ् are to be taken and not the roots मी or मि or मा माने, for they also take the form मा by VI. I. 50.

स्थति	प्रणिष्ठाति, परिणिष्ठाति	हन्ति	प्रणिहन्ति, परिणिहन्ति
याति	प्रणियाति, परिणियाति	वाति	प्राणिवाति, परिणिवाति
द्राति	प्रणिद्राति, परिणिद्राति	प्साति	प्रणिप्साति, परिणिप्साति

The last five roots belong to Adādi class.

वपति	प्रणिवपति, परिणिवपति	वहन्ति	प्रणिवहन्ति, परिणिवहन्ति
शास्यति	प्रणिशास्यति, परिणिशास्यति (VII. 3. 74)		
चिनोति	प्रणिचिनोति, परिणिचिनोति	देशिधि	प्रणिदेशिधि, परिणिदेशिधि

*Ishti*—The above change takes place even when the augment अऽ inter-  
venes. As प्रणिगदत्, परिणिगदत्॥

The roots स्थति &c, are exhibited in their declined form in the sūtra, in  
order to indicate that the rule does not apply to यङ् लुक form of these roots  
(VII. I. 6).

शेषे विभाषाकखादावपान्तउपदेशे ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे, विभाषा, अकस्मादौ,  
अपान्ते, उपदेशे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नेत्रिति वर्तते उपसर्गादिति च । अककारखकारादिष्यकारान्तश्च उपदेशे यो धातुः शेषस्तस्मिन्परत  
उपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुन्नरस्य नर्नकारस्य विभाषा णकार अदेशो भवति ।

18. In the remaining verbs, optionally the न of नि is replaced by ण, when it is preceded by an upasarga competent to cause the change; provided that, in the original enunciation, the verb has not an initial क or ख, nor ends with ष ॥

The words नेः and उपसर्गात् are understood in the sūtra. The word शेषे means verbs other than those mentioned last. Thus प्रणिपच्छति or प्रणिपच्छाति, प्रणि-  
भिन्ति or प्रणिभिन्ति ॥

Why do we say अकर्त्ता॒ “not beginning with क or ख”? Observe प्रनि॒ करोति॑, प्रनिलाशति॑ ॥ Here there is no change.

Why do we say अवान्तः॑ “not ending in ए”? Observe प्रनिपिनेषि॑ ॥

Why do we say उपैदेषे॑ “in original enunciation”? So that the prohibition may apply to forms like प्रनिचकार, प्रनिचखाद, प्रनिपेक्षयति॑ (VIII. 2. 41). Here चकार &c, do not begin with क or ख nor does पिष्ठ end with ष् but with क् (VIII. 2. 41) but in the Dhātupāṭha the verb क् and खद् begin with क and ख and पिष्ठ ends with ष्, and hence the rule will not apply. So also in प्रणिवेषा and प्रणिवेक्षयति॑ from the root विश् ॥ Here though the verb now ends with ष by VIII. 2. 36, yet in the original enunciation or Dhātupāṭha, it ends with षा ॥

अनितेः ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि॑ ॥ अनितेः ॥

वृत्तिः॑ ॥ अनिर्वेनकारस्योपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य णकारादेशो भवति॑ ।

19. The न of the verb अन् ‘to breathe’, is changed into ण, when preceded by an upasarga competent to produce the change.

Thus प्र+अनिति॑ = प्राणिति॑ ‘he breathes’. पराणिति॑ ॥ For हृ augment, see VII. 2. 76.

अन्तः॑ ॥ २० ॥ पदानि॑ ॥ अन्तः॑ ॥

वृत्तिः॑ ॥ उपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्यानितिनकारस्य पदन्ते वर्तमानस्य णकारादेशो भवति॑ ।

20. The न of अन् is changed into ण, when it is preceded by an upasarga competent to produce the change, provided it occurs at the end of a pada.

As हे प्राण् ! हे पराण् ! ॥ This rule is an exception to VIII. 4. 37 *sub*, by which final न् in a pada is not changed into ण ॥ The word अन्तः॑ in the sūtra is to be understood to be equivalent to पदान्तः॑, and the rule applies when the word is in the vocative case.

According to some अन्तः॑ is taken to be a part of the last sūtra, and has the meaning of ‘proximity’. That is the न is changed to ण, if the त is not separated from the न् by more than one letter. Therefore there is no change in परि॑+अनिति॑ = पर्यन्तिति॑ ॥ In this view, another अन्त should be taken for the sake of final न्, in हे प्राण् !

According to others the form पर्यन्तिति॑ is valid, and they do not connect अन्तः॑ with the last sūtra.

The word प्राण् is a किञ्चप् formed word, and the न् final is not elided in the Vocative Singular because of the prohibition of VIII. 2. 8; in every other place, when the न् is padānta, it would be dropped; and therefore the illustration is given with Vocative singular, which alone satisfies the requirements of this sūtra.

उभौ साभ्यासस्य ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उभौ, साभ्यासस्य ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ साभ्यासस्यानितेष्पर्सर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्योभयोर्नकारयोर्णकार आदेशो भवति ।

21. Both the *n*s are changed into *ṇ* in the reduplicated forms of the verb अन्, when preceded by an upasarga competent to cause the change.

Thus in the Desiderative प्राणिणिषति and Aorist of the Causative प्राणिणत्, and so also पराणिणिषति and पराणिणत् ॥

If the maxim पूर्वचासिद्धीयमहिर्वचने be not applied here; then we have the following dilemma in, प्राणि + स + ति ॥ Here the affix स् requires reduplication, and the present sūtra requires ण change of न ॥ The जत्व being asiddha, the reduplication being made first, we have प्राणिनि + स + ति, and then the reduplicate ण intervenes between the cause प्र and the root-न् of नि, and so this न् would not be changed to ण ॥ If however the above maxim be applied, we first apply the जत्व rule, as प्राणि + स + ति, and then reduplicate ण; and we get the form प्राणिणिषति even without this sūtra.

If we could get this form by the application of the above maxim, where is the necessity of the present sūtra? The sūtra is necessary in order to indicate that the above maxim is *anitya* or not of universal application. And because it is *anitya*, that the form औजडत् is evolved by reduplicating हन् (See VIII. 2. 1).

हन्तेरपूर्वस्य ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ हन्ते:, अत्, पूर्वस्य ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ अकारपूर्वस्य हन्तिनकारस्य उपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य णकार आदेशो भवति ।

22. The न, when preceded by अ, in the root हन्, is changed to ण, when the verb is preceded by a preposition competent to cause the change.

Thus प्रहृण्यते, परिहृण्यते, प्रहणनम्, परिहणनम् ॥

Why do we say अत्पूर्वस्य 'when preceded by अ'? When अ is elided, the change does not take place. As प्रप्लन्ति, परिप्लन्ति (VI. 4. 98, and VIII. 3. 54).

Why do we say अत् "preceded by short अ"? Observe पर्वशानि and प्रधानि, the Aorist of हन् by the affix चिण् (III. 1. 60) प्रहन् + चिण् = प्रघन् + चिण् (VIII. 3. 54) = प्रधान् + चिण् (VIII. 2. 116) = प्रधानिः 'he killed'. Here न् being preceded by the long अा is not changed.

वमोर्वा ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वमो:, वा ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ वकारमकारयोः परतो हन्तिनकारस्योपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य वा णकारादेशो भवति ।

23. Optionally when व or म follow, the न of han is changed to ण, when preceded by an upasarga competent to cause the change.

Thus प्रहृवः, परिहृवः, or प्रहन्वः and परिहन्वः, प्रहृन्वः or प्रहन्मः परिहृन्मः or परिहन्मः ॥

This sūtra enjoins an option in certain cases, where it would have been obligatory by the last rule.

अन्तरदेशे ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तर्, अदेशे ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तःशब्दादुच्चरस्य हन्तनकारस्यात्पूर्वस्य णकारादेशो भवति ।

24. The न preceded by short अ of the root हन् is changed into ण, when the root follows the upasarga अन्तर्, and the word does not mean a country.

Thus अन्तर्ईयते and अन्तर्ईनं ॥

Why do we say "when not meaning a country अदेश?" Observe अन्तर्हननी देशः ॥

The phrase अतपूर्वस्य "preceded by short अ" of sūtra 22 ante, is to be read into this sūtra also. Observe, अन्तर्प्रत्तिः ॥

Why do we say "short अ?" See, अन्तरधानि ॥ The word antar is an upasarga for the purposes of ण change, by the vārtika under I. 4. 65; therefore, it would have caused the ण change by VIII. 4. 22. The present sūtra is made, to show that the change takes place only then, when it does not mean a country.

अयनं च ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अयनम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तरदेशाद्यति वर्तते । अयननकारस्य चान्तः शब्दादुच्चरस्य णकारादेशो भवति ।

25. The न of अयन is changed to ण, when preceded by the word अन्तर्, and the word does not denote a country.

Thus अन्तरयणं शोभनम् ॥ Why do we say "not denoting a country"? Observe अन्तरयनो देशः ॥ This ण change would have taken place by VIII. 4. 29, this special sūtra is for भाद्रेश purposes. The word अयन is formed by ल्युद् added to अय or इण् ॥

छन्दस्युद्वग्रहात् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, ऋत्-अवग्रहात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकायान्ताश्वभ्रहात्पूर्वपश्चादुच्चरस्य णकारादेशो भवति छन्दसि विषये ।

26. In the Chandas, न of a second term is changed into ण, when the prior term ends with a short ऋ even when there is an *aragraha* or hiatus between the two terms.

In the Veda, ऋ becomes ण, after a क्, after which in Padapāṭha, the word appertaining to it is divided. Thus in Pada-pāṭha the words नृमणाः &c, are separated, and are read as नृ, मणाः ॥ The word अवगृह्यते = विच्छिद्य पञ्चते, as in Pada-pāṭha. ऋद्वग्रहात् means 'after a short ऋ which is an avagraha'. The क् here, of course, means 'a word ending in क्', because क् alone cannot be a pūrvapada. The जत्व took place during saṅhitā, and in Pada reading this ण would not have remained, hence this sūtra.

Why have we used the word *avagraha* in the sūtra? Because we have already said that the word saṅhitā governs all sūtras of this chapter. So the न is changed to ण in the Saṅhitā state in these; and the ण is retained, when

in the state of avagraha. The word avagraha in the sūtra indicates the scope of the rule. The न is changed to ए after that क् only, which is capable of avagraha, namely that क् which stands at the end of a word (pada), and not that which is in the body of a word. Thus in नृमणाः, पितृयाणम्, the क् is capable of avagraha, as it is at the end of a word नृ or पितृ; but when it is not at the end of a word, it can never become avagraha, and will not produce the ए change.

The word पुर्वपश्चात् is understood here. The word अवग्रह means a hiatus or separation. Thus पितृयाणम्, नृ मणाः ॥ Here क् is अवग्रह ॥ The change of न into ए is effected ordinarily then, when the terms, one containing the cause, and the other न, are in संहिता or conjunction. For the rules of Sandhi and the rules like these can apply only to words in sahītā. The present rule is an exception to it, and here, even when the words are not in संहिता, but there is an actual hiatus between the two, the change still takes place. The word संहिता of VIII. 2. 108, exerts regulating influence upto the end of the Book.

नश्च धातुस्थोरुष्यः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नः, च, धातुस्थ, उरु, सुष्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नस् इत्येतस्य नकारस्य जकारादेशो भवति धातुस्थान्निमित्तादुच्चरस्थोरुष्यादानुषुष्यादाच च्छन्वसि विषये ।

27. In the Chandas, the न of (the Pronoun) नस् is changed into ए, when it comes after a root having a र or ष or after the words उरु and सु (सु) ॥

Thus अग्ने रक्षाणः (Rig VII. 15. 13) 'O Agni ! protect us'. शिक्षा जो अस्मिन् (Rig. VII. 32. 26) 'Teach us this'. उरु—उरुणस्कृषि (Rig. VIII. 75. 11) ए—अभीषुणः सखीनाम्) Rig IV. 31. 3). ऊर्ध्वं ऊरुणः ऊतये (Rig. I. 36. 13).

The word नस् is here the pronoun नस्, which is the substitute, in certain cases, of अस्मद् (VIII. 1. 21) and does not mean here the नस् substitute of नासिका ॥ In the next sūtra, however, both नस् are taken. धातुस्थ means 'that which exists in a dhātu', namely र् and ष् when occurring in a root. The word उरु means the word-form उरु; and सु means सुञ्च्, and is exhibited with ष-change. It does not mean the affix सु of the Locative Plural. Therefore, not here इत्तो धता गृहेषु नः ॥ The word रक्षा is the 2nd Person singular, Imperative, the lengthening is by VI. 3. 135. The root शिक्ष् has the sense of दान in the Veda. कृपी is 2nd Person sg. Imperative of कृ (VI. 4. 102), the visarga of नः is changed to स् by VIII. 3. 50. In अभीषु there is lengthening by VI. 3. 134: so also in ऊरुणः &c.

उपसर्गाद्वृहुलम् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गात्, वहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुच्चरस्य नसो नकारस्य जकारादेशो भवति ।

28. The न of नस् is changed diversely into ए, when it comes after an upasarga having a cause of change.

Thus प्रणः शूद्रः; प्रणसः प्रणो राजा ॥ The change does not sometime take, place, as, प्र नो मुञ्चतम् ॥

By force of the word बहुलम् the rule applies to secular literature also as distinguished from the Chhandas or sacred Vedic text. Thus प्रणसं मुखं ॥ The word छन्नसि does not govern this sūtra.

In प्रणसं मुखम्, the word नस् is the substitute for नासिका and means 'nose'. See V. 4. 119.

This is not the sūtra as given by Pāṇini. His sūtra is उपसर्गाद्दिनोत्परः "after an Upasarga, the न of नस् when not preceded by or followed by an ओ, is changed into ण". There being several objections to this rule, the above rule is substituted as an amendment, in the Mahābhāṣya. For ओत्परः may have two meanings:—(1) ओकारात् परः, that which comes after ओ; (2) ओकारः परोऽस्मात् त, that which is followed by ओ ॥ In both cases, the rule is objectionable. In the first case, the ण change would be required in प्रनो मुञ्चतं; in the second case, there should be no ण change in प्रणोवनिर्विवता ॥ In fact, we find in the Vedas प्रणः as well as प्रनः; so also प्रणो as well as प्रनो ॥ Hence the necessity of this amendment.

कृत्यचः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृति, अच ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ कृत्यथो यो नकारो इच उत्तरस्योपसर्गस्थानिमित्तादुत्तरस्य नकारदेशो भवति ।

वार्त्तिकः ॥ कृत्यस्थ्य जत्वे निर्विष्णव्योपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् ।

29. The न् of a Krit affix, preceded by a vowel, is changed into ण, when it follows an upasarga having the cause of change.

The following are the specific Krit affixes in which this change takes place:—अन् ( यु ), मान् ( शान् &c VII. 2. 82 ), अनीय ( III. 1. 96 ) अनि, ( III. 3. 111 ) इनि ( इनि III. 2. 78 &c ) and the substitutes of निष्ठा ( VIII. 2. 42 ) ॥

Thus

अनः प्रयाणम्, परिमाणम्, प्रमाणम्, परियाणम् ॥ मानः प्रयाव्यमाणम्, परियाव्यमाणम् ॥

अनीय प्रयाणीयम्, परियाणीयम् ॥ अनि अप्रयाणि, अपरियाणि ॥

इनि प्रयाणिन्, प्रयाणीयौ, परियाणिन्, परियाणीयौ

निष्ठादेशः प्रहीणः, परिहीणः, प्रहीणवान्, परिहीणवान् ॥ Long ī by VI. 4. 66.

Why do we say अचः 'preceded by a vowel'? Observe प्रभुगः, परिभुगः the Nishṭhā of भुज् ॥ It is thus formed: भुज् + न् = भुज् + त = भुज् + न ( VII. 2. 45, the root भुज् is read as भुजो कौटिल्ये in the dhatupātha, having an indicatory ओ, thus giving scope to the rule ). भुज् + न = भुण् + न ( VIII. 2. 30 ) = भुग् ॥

*Vart-*—The word निर्विष्णः should be enumerated in this place. As निर्विष्णोस्मि खलसंगेन ॥ निर्विष्णोहमत्रवासेन ॥

णेर्विभाषा ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ णे:, विभाषा ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ प्रथन्ताच्यो विहितः कृत्यत्वयः तत्स्पस्य नकारयोपसर्गस्थानिमित्तादुत्तरस्य विभाषा नकारदेशो भवति

30. The न् of a Krit-affix ordained after a causative verb ( प्यन्त ), is optionally changed to ण्, when it comes after an upasarga having a cause of change.

Thus प्रयापणम् or प्रयापनम्, परियापणम् or परियोपनम्, प्रयाप्यमाणम् or प्रयाप्यमानम्, प्रयापणीयम् or प्रयापनीयं, अप्रयापणः or अप्रयापनः, प्रयापिणै or प्रयापिनै ॥

Why have we used the word विहितं 'ordained' in explaining the sūtra? Because the change takes place, even where the कृत् affix does not follow directly after the affix णिः; where a third affix such as यक् intervenes. As प्रयाप्यमाणम् ॥ The जे: being in the ablative, under the ordinary rule of interpretation ( I. i. 72 ), the kṛit-affix should come immediately after णिः.

हलश्चेज्जुपधात् ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, च, इच्च-उपधात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलादियों धातुस्त्रियुपधस्तस्मात्परो यः कृत्यतयः तत्स्थस्य नकारस्याच उत्तरस्योपसर्गस्थानिमित्तादुत्तरस्य विभाषा नकारादेशो भवति ।

31. A kṛit-affix, coming after a verb, which begins with a consonant and has a penultimate इच् vowel, changes optionally its न्, which is preceded by a vowel, into ण्, when it comes after an upasarga having a cause of change.

The phrase कृत्यतः is understood here. Thus प्रकोपणम् or प्रकोपनम्, परिकोपणम् or परिकोपनम् ॥

Why do we say हलः 'beginning with a consonant'? Observe प्रेहणम् and प्रोहणम् where the change is obligatory, under VIII. 4. 29. These are from ईह चेष्टायाम् and ऊह वितर्के ॥

Why do we say इज्जुपधात् 'having a penultimate इच् vowel'? Observe प्रवपणम् and परिवपणम्; no option.

By the rule कृत्यतः the change was obligatory, this rule makes it optional.

The न् of the kṛit-affix must come after a vowel, otherwise there will be no change. See परिभुगः:

The word हलः in the sūtra should be interpreted as हलादेः, and not as ordinarily "after what ends in हल्" ॥ For an इज्जुपधा verb implies that it ends with a consonant, and so the employment of the word हलः in the text would have been useless had it meant हलन्तात् ॥

इजादेः सनुमः ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ इजादेः, सनुमः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इजादेः सनुमो हलन्ताद्वातोर्विहितो यः कृत्तस्थस्य नकारस्योपसर्गस्थानिमित्तादुत्तरस्य नकारे भवति ।

32. A kṛit-affix ordained after a verb beginning with an इच् vowel, having the augment तुम् in it, and ending

with a consonant, changes its न् into ण्, when preceded by an upasarga having in it the cause of change.

The word हलः of the last sūtra is understood here. But contrary to the construction put upon it in the last sūtra, here it means हलन्तात्, by the natural rule of construction as given in I. i. 72. We must interpret it so here, because it is impossible for an इजादि root to commence with a हलः; while to have done so in the last aphorism would have been redundant.

Thus प्रेक्षणम्, परेक्षणम् from इखि गत्यर्थः; the तुम् is added because it is इदित् ॥ प्रेक्षणम्, परेक्षणम्, प्रोभूषणम् परोभूषणम् ॥ In उम्भ पूर्णे the nasal is part of the root. The rule will not apply to प्रेन्वनम्, because तुम् here means the anusvāra generally (VIII. 4. 2) though the change would have been valid by the general rule, (VIII. 4. 29) this sūtra makes a नियम् or restriction. That is, only in the case of इजादि सतुम् verbs the change takes place, not in other सतुम् verbs. Thus प्रमङ्गनम्, परिमङ्गनम् from the root मगि सर्वणे ॥

This rule does not affect rule VIII. 4. 30, relating to ज्यन्त् verbs, for those verbs cannot be said to end with a consonant. Moreover, we have used the word विहितः in explaining the sūtra, in order to indicate this fact, that the कृत-affix must be *ordained* after a consonant-ending verb. In the case of causative verbs, the कृत-affix is *ordained* after a vowel-ending (णि) verb, and the vowel is elided *after* the adding of the affix. So that *before* the adding of the affix, the verb did not end in a consonant.

वा निसनिक्षनिन्दाम् ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, निस-निक्ष-निन्दाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गादितिवर्त्तते । निस निक्ष निन्द इत्येतेषां नकारस्योपर्सर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य वा नकारादेशो भवति ।

33. The न् of निस निक्ष and निन्द् is changed to ण् optionally, when preceded by an upasarga having in it a cause of change.

Thus प्राणसनम् or प्रानिसनम्, प्रणिक्षणम् or प्रानिक्षणम्, प्रणिन्दनम् or प्रानिन्दनम् ॥

These verbs are written with ण in the Dhātupāṭha, and therefore by rule VIII. 4. 14 ante, the change of न into ण would have been obligatory. The present sūtra makes it optional. The root णिसि means 'to kiss', णिक्षि रोषणे, and णिन्दि कृत्सायाम् ॥

न भाभूपूकमिगमिप्यायिवेपाम् ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, भा-भू-पू-कमि-गमि-प्यायि-वेपाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भा शीतो भू सत्तायाम् पू पवने कमि कान्तौ गमि गतौ प्यायि वृद्धौ वेप कम्पने इत्येतेषामुपर्सर्गस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य कृत्स्यस्य नकारस्य नकारादेशो न भवति ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ज्यन्तानां भादीनामुपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ।

34. The न of a कृत-affix is not changed to ण, though preceded by an upasarga having in it a cause of change,

when the affix is added to the following verbs: भा 'to shine', भू 'to be', पू 'to purify', कमि 'to be brilliant', गमि 'to go', प्यायि 'to increase', वेष 'to shake'.

This rule is an exception to VIII. 4. 29. Thus :—

भा प्रभानम्, परिभानम् भू प्रभवनम्, परिभवनम् पू प्रपवनम्, परिपवनम् ॥

*Ishiti* :—The verb पूज् is to be taken and not the verb पूङ् ॥ In the case of the latter the change is obligatory, as, प्रपवणं सोमस्य ॥

कमि प्रकमनम् परिकमनम् ॥ गमि प्रगमनम् परिगमनम् ॥

प्यायि प्रप्यायनम्, परिप्यायनम् ॥ वेष प्रवेषनम्, परिवेषनम् ॥

*Vārt* :—The above roots, even when in the Causative, do not change the न of their kṛit-affix. As प्रभापनम्, परिभापनम् ॥

पात्पदान्तात् ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पात्, पदान्तात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकारात्पदान्तादुत्तरस्य नकारस्य जकारादेशो न भवति ।

35. After a ए final in a Pada, the न् is not changed to ए ॥

Thus निष्पानम्, दुष्पानम् ; the visarga is changed to ए here by VIII. 3. 41. The rule VIII. 4. 29 is debarred. सर्पिष्वानम् (is a genitive compound contra II. 2. 14). So also चञ्जुष्पानम् (II. 1. 32). The ए is in these two by VIII. 3. 45, and VIII. 4. 10 is debarred.

Why do we say "पात् after a ए?" Observe निर्णयः ॥

Why do we say पदान्तात् 'final in a Pada'? Observe कुष्णाति, मुष्णाति ॥ The word पदान्त is equivalent to पदे अन्त or Locative Tatpurusha; and does not mean final of a Pada. Therefore the rule does not apply here. चुसर्पिष्केण (ins. sg.) चुयज्जुष्केण ॥ Here the क is added by V. 4. 154. शोभनं सर्पिस्य = मुसर्पिष्क (a Bahuvrīhi). The ए is by VIII. 3. 39. Before the affix क, the word चुसर्पिष्क is a Pada (I. 4. 17), and thus ए (ए) is final of a Pada: but it is not final of a preceding member followed by another Pada. The rule, in fact, applies to compounds, the ए being final in the first term.

नशः पान्तस्य ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नशः, पान्तस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नशः एकारान्तस्य जकारादेशो न भवति ।

36. ए is not the substitute of the verb नश 'to destroy', when ending in ए ॥

When the ए is changed to ए in नश, the न of नश is not changed. Thus प्रनष्टः, परिनष्टः ॥ The तुष् ordained by VII. 1. 60, is elided by VI. 4. 24, and ए changed ए by VIII. 2. 36.

Why do we say पान्तस्य? Observe प्रणश्यति, परिणश्यति ॥ The word अन्त is taken in order that the prohibition may apply to words like प्रनहृष्यति, which did end with ए though the ए has been changed by other rules, and is no longer visible. For here the ए of नश is changed to ए by VIII. 2. 36, and then this ए is changed to ए by VIII. 2. 41; and the तुष् is added by VII. 1. 60.

**पदान्तस्य ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदान्तस्य ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ पदान्तो यो नकारस्तस्य णकारादेशो न भवति ।

37. Of a न final in a Pada, ण is not the substitute.

Thus शुभान्, प्रशान्, अरीन्, गिरीन् ॥

**पदव्यवायेषि ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदव्यवाये, अषि ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ पदेन व्यवायेन सति निमित्तनिमित्तिनोर्नकारस्य णकारादेशो न भवति ।

वाच्चिकम् ॥ पदव्यवाये उत्तिंत्तिं वक्तव्यम् ।

38. The न् is not changed to ण् when a Pada intervenes between the cause of the change and the word containing the न ॥

The word पदव्यवाय is a compound meaning पदेन व्यवाय 'separated by a Pada'. Thus माष्टुभवायेन, चतुरङ्गोगेन, प्रावनद्वय, पर्वतनद्वय, प्रगाम्यामः, परिगाम्यामः ॥ Here the Padas कुम्भ, अङ्ग, अव &c, intervening, the change does not take place.

*Vārtika*—It should be stated when there is separation by a Pada, except in a Taddhita. Prohibition does not apply to words like आर्द्धगोमध्येण, एष्टकगोमध्येण ॥ Here गो takes the affix मध् by IV. 3. 145, and the word गो is a Pada by I. 4. 17, and it intervenes between मध् and the first word. The author of Mahābhāshya however does not approve of this Vārtika. According to him the word पदव्यवाय means पदे व्यवाय ॥

**क्षुभनादिषु च ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षुभनादिषु, च ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षुभना इत्येवमासिषु शब्देषु नकारस्य णकारादेशो न भवति ।

39. The उ is not the substitute of न् in the words kshubhnā &c.

The 'not' of sūtra 34 is to be read into this. Thus क्षुभनाति, so also in क्षुभनीतः, क्षुभन्ति, the substitutes of अन् being like the principal I. 1. 57.

So नृनमनः where the change was called for by VIII. 4. 3, and VIII. 4. 26.

नन्दिन्, नन्दन and नगर when second members in a compound, denoting a name, as, हरिनन्दी, हरिनन्दनः, गिरिनगरः ॥

The word नृन् when taking the Intensive affix यह्, as, नरीनृत्यते ॥

क्षुभन्, क्षुमोति also belongs to this class. नर्तन, गहन, नन्दन, निवेश, निवास, अग्नि and अनूप when used as second terms in a compound. As, परिनर्तनम्, परिगहनम्, which required change by VIII. 4. 3. So परिनन्दनम्, contrary to VIII. 4. 14. शरनिवेशः, शरनिवास, शराग्निः, इर्मनूपः ॥ All these are Names.

After the word आचार्य there is no change, as, आचार्यभोगीनः, आचार्यानी ॥

हरिका, तिमिर, समीर, कुबेर and हरि and कर्मर followed by वन do not cause change in the न of वन when the compound is a Name. This is an आकृतिगणः ॥

1 क्षुभा (क्षुभनाति), 2 नृनमनः, 3 नन्दिन्, 4 नन्दन, 5 नगर, एतान्युत्तरपदानि संज्ञावान् प्रयोजनान्ति, 6 हरिनन्दी, 7 हरिनन्दनः, 8 गिरिनगरम्; 9 नृतिर्थडि प्रयोजयति, नरीनृत्यते; 10 नर्तन, 11 गहन,

12 नन्दन, 13 निवेश, 14 निवासा, 15 अभिं, 16 अनूप, एतान्युत्तरपदानि प्र योजयन्ति, 17 परिनर्तनम्, 18 परिगहनम्, 19 परिनन्दनम्, 20 शरनिवेशः, 21 शरनिवासः, 22 शराग्निः, 23 दर्भानूपः, 24 आचार्यादिणवं च आचार्यभोगीनः (आचार्यनी). क्षुभ्ना, 25 हृष्टु, नृनमन, 26 नरनगर, नन्दन-यहू, नृती, 27 गिरिनदी, 28 गृहनमन, निवेश, निवास, अभिं, अनूप, आचार्यभोगीन, 29 चतुर्हायन, 30 इस्कादीनि वनोन्तरपदानि संज्ञायाम्। इरिका, तिमिर, समीर, कुबेर, हरि कर्मार, अकृतिगण.

**स्तोः इच्छुना इच्छुः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तोः, इच्छुना, इच्छुः ॥ यून्तिः ॥ सकारत्वर्गाभ्यां संनिपाते सकारत्वर्गादेशौ भवतः ।**

40. The letters **स** and the dentals when coming in contact with **श** and the palatals, are changed to **श** and palatals respectively.

The rule of यथासंख्य does not apply here with regard to first part **स्तो इच्छुना**॥ The **स** in contact with **श** is changed to **श** but it is also so changed when in contact with letters of **च** class. Similarly letters of **त** class coming in contact with **श** or a letter of **च** class, are changed to **च** class. The rule of यथासंख्य, however, applies to the substitutes, namely **स** is changed to **श**, and **तु** to **च्छ**॥

1st. **स** in contact with **श**:—**as**, वृक्षस् + शेते = वृक्षशेते, so also प्लक्षशेते ॥

2nd. **स** in contact with **च्छ**:—**as**, वृक्षस् + चिनोति = वृक्षचिनोति, प्लक्षचिनोति, वृक्षच्छाद्यति, प्लक्षच्छाद्यति ॥

3rd. **तु** with **श**:—**अग्निचित्** + शेते = अग्निचिच्छेते, so सोमसुच्छेते ॥

4th. **तु** with **च्छ**:—**अग्निचित्** + चिनोति = अग्निचिच्छचिनोति, so also सोमसुच्छचिनोति, अग्निचिच्छाद्यति, अग्निचिच्छाज्जयति अग्निचिच्छाज्जयति, सोमसुच्छाद्यति, सोमसुच्छज्जयति, सोमसुच्छज्जयति, अग्निचिच्छज्जयति, सोमसुच्छज्जयति, सोमसुच्छज्जयति ॥ Similarly मस्त् gives मज्जति, the **स** is changed to **तु** by इलाजश्च इति VIII. 4. 53, and then this **तु** is changed to a palatal i. e. to **च्छ** here; and **तु** obtained by ज्जय rule is not considered asiddha here. See VIII. 2. 3. So also from भस्त्र we have भज्जति ॥

5th. **चकार** followed by **त्वकार**:—**as**, यज्ञ + न (III. 3. 90) = यज + ज्ञ = यज्ञः, याच्छ + न = याच्छमा ॥ In fact the instrumental case इच्छुना shows that the mere contact of **स** and **तु** with **श** and **च्छ** is enough to induce the change, whether **स्तु** is followed by **इच्छु**, or **इच्छु** be followed by **स्तु**॥ Other examples of mere contact are :—

5th.(a) **स** followed by **च्छ** is changed into **श**:—**as**, भस्त् + ति = भस्त् + श + ति (III. I. 77, VI. I. 16) = भस्त् ज + ति = भस्त् ज + श + ति = (VIII. 4. 53) = भज्जति ॥ Similarly मस्त् forms मज्जति, ब्रह्म forms ब्रुशति ॥

The aphorism शात् (VIII. 4. 44) which prohibits the change of **तु** into **च्छ** when following the letter **श**, indicates by implication that the rule of mutual correspondence according to the order of enumeration (I. 3. 10) does not hold good here.

Had the sūtra been **स्तो श्चोः इच्छुः** i. e. instead of instrumental, had there been the locative case, then the rule would not have applied to cases covered by the fifth clause.

**षुना षुः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ षुना, षुः ॥**

**यून्तिः ॥ सकारत्वर्गाभ्यां संनिपाते सकारत्वर्गावांशौ भवतः ।**

41. The letters स् and dentals in contact with ष् and cerebrals, are changed into ष् and cerebrals respectively.

The word स्तोः is to be read into the sūtra. Here also there is absence of mutual correspondence according to the order of enumeration.

(1) स with ष as, वृक्षस् + षण्डे = वृक्षषष्टण्डे; प्लक्षषष्टण्डे ||

(2) स with दु, as, वृक्षस + दीकते = वृक्षदीकते, वृक्षद्विकारः, प्लक्षद्विकते and प्लक्षद्विकारः ||

(3) तु with ष as पेष् + ता = पेष्टा, पेष्टुम्, पेष्टव्यम्, कृषीष्ट, कृषीष्टाः (Atmane, Aorist 2nd per dual).

(4) तु with दु, as, अग्निचित् + दीकते = अग्निचिद्दीकते, सोमसुद्दीकते, अग्निचिद्दकारः, अग्निनिदृ दीनः, अग्निचिद्दीकते, अग्निचिण्णकार, सोमसुद्दकारः, सोमसुद्दीनः, सोमसुद्दीकते, सोमसुद्दण्णकारः ||

The root अतृ अतिकमणिंसयोः, and अदृ अभियोगे, are read in the Dhātu-pāṭha with त् and द् penultimate, in order that when the affix किष्ट् is added to them, the final त् and द् being elided by संयोगान्त rule, the derivatives will be अत् and अद् ending in त् and द् || Another reason is that the sūtra VI. I. 3, should apply to their reduplicate. In these roots the त् and द् are changed, as अदृति and अदृदति ||

न पदान्ताद्वौरनाम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, पदान्तात्, दोः, अनाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदान्ताद्वर्गाद्वृत्तरस्य स्तोः दुख्यं न भवति नामित्वेतद्वर्जयित्वा ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अनाम्बवतिनगरीणामिति वक्तव्यम् ।

42. After दु final in a Pada, the change of a dental (स्तु) to a cerebral (षु), does not take place, except in the case of the affix नाम् ||

Thus श्वलिद् + साये = श्वलिद्साये, मश्वलिद्साये, श्वलिद्तरति, मश्वलिद्तरति ॥

Why do we say पदान्तात् 'final in a Pada'? Observe ईद् + ते = ईद् + हे = ईद्देः ॥

Why do we say दोः 'after दु'? Observe सर्पिष्ट + तम् = सर्पिष्टम् ॥

Why do we say अनाम् 'except in the case of the affix नाम्'? Observe एद् + नाम् = षण्णाम् ॥ This exception is very inadequate. Hence the following

*Vṛtī*—It should be stated rather that नवति and नगरी as well as नाम् are not prevented from undergoing the cerebral change. As, षण्णाम् 'of six', षण्णवतिः ninety-six, and षण्णगरी 'six cities'.

तोः विः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तोः, विः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तवर्गस्य वकारे यदुन्ते नन्न भवति ।

43. In the room of तु there is not a cerebral substitute, when ष follows.

The word न is to be read into the aphorism. As, अग्निचित् + षण्डे = अग्निचित्षष्टण्डे ॥ भवान्षप्त्ते, महान्षप्त्ते ॥

**शात् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शात् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ शकारादुन्तरस्य तवर्गस्य युद्धं तत्र भवति ।

44. In the room of तु there is not a palatal substitute, when श precedes.

The words न and सोः are understood here. This is an exception to VIII. 4. 40. Thus, प्रच्छ + न (III. 3. 90)=प्रश्च + न (VI. 4. 19)=प्रश्च; विशः &c.

**यरोनुनासिकेनुनासिको वा ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ यरः, अनुनासिके, अनुनासिकः, वा ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ यरः पशान्तस्यानुनासके परतो वानुनासिकादेशो भवति ।  
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ यरोनुनासिके प्रत्यये भाषायां नित्यवचनं कर्तव्यम् ।

45. In the room of a यर letter (every consonant except ह final) in a Pada, when a Nasal follows, there is optionally a Nasal substitute.

The word पशान्त is understood here. Thus वाक् + नयति=वाम्बयति or वाङ्-नयति, अग्निचिदृनयति or अग्निचिन्नयति, विद्वनयति or विद्वम्बयति, श्वलिण्नयति or श्वलिङ्गयति ॥

Why do we say 'final in a Pada'? Observe, वेद + मि=वेद्मि ॥ Here there is no option. So also लुभ्नाति ॥

*Vart* :—When it is a pratyaya or affix that follows, the nasalisation is obligatory in the secular language. Thus वाक् + मात्रम्=वाङ्मात्रम्, कियन्मात्रम् ॥ It is, however, only before the affixes मय and मात्र that the change is obligatory, and not before every affix beginning with a nasal.

**अचो रहाभ्यां द्वे ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, रहाभ्यां, द्वे ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अच उत्तरौ यौ रेफहकारौ ताभ्यादुन्तरस्य यरो द्वे भवतः ।

46. There is reduplication of यर्, i. e. all the consonants except ह, after the letters र् and ह following a vowel.

The word यर् of last sūtra is understood here. According to others, the वा is also understood, and this is an optional rule. Thus अर्कः, मर्कः, व्रह्मा, अपर्हन्तुते ॥

Why do we say अचः: 'following a vowel'? Observe हतुते, द्वालयति ॥

**अनुच्चि च ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्, अच्चि, च ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अच उन्तरस्य यरो द्वे भवतो उन्तचि परतः ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ यरो मयो द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ।

वा० ॥ यरः यरो द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ।      वा० ॥ अवसाने च यरो द्वे भवतः इति वक्तव्यम् ।

47. When a vowel does not follow, there is reduplication of यर् (all the consonants except ह), after a vowel.

The words अचः and यरः are understood here.

Thus वधि + अच = दध्यू + अच (VI. I. 77) = दध्यू + अच दद्धू + अच (VIII. 4. 53) = दद्धूच, so also मद्धूच ॥

Why do we say अच: "after a vowel?" Observe सितम्, सातम् ॥

*Vārtī*—यनो मयो हे भवतः ॥ This Vārtīka may be interpreted in two ways. First taking यणः as ablative and मयः as genitive. "The letters of the pratyāhāra मय् are reduplicated after यण् letters." उल्का, बाल्मीकः ॥ Secondly taking यणः as genitive, and मयः as ablative. "The letters यण् are reduplicated after मय् letters". As दध्यत्र, मध्यत्र ॥

*Vārtī*—शरः खयो हे भवतः ॥ This is also similarly explained in two ways. 1st "There is reduplication of खय् letters, after a sibilant for शर् letters". as स्थ्याल, स्थ्यात्. Secondly. 'There is reduplication of a sibilant (शर् letters), after खय् letters, ss, वस्सरः, अप्स्सरः ॥

*Vārtī*—अवसाने च यरो हे भवतः ॥ There is reduplication of यर् when a Pause ensues. As वाङ्, व्यवङ्, वद्दृ, तत् &c.

These reduplications are curiosities, rather than practicalities.

नादिन्याक्षोशे पुत्रस्य ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, आदिनी, आक्षोशे, पुत्रस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिनी परत आक्षोशे गम्यमाने पुत्रशब्दस्य न हे भवतः ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ तथेरे चेति वक्तव्यम् । वा० ॥ वा हतजग्धपरदाति वक्तव्यम् ।

वा० ॥ अयो द्वितीया: शरि पौष्टकरसादिः ।

48. There is not reduplication of the letters of 'putra', when the word ādīnī follows, the sense being that of reviling or cursing.

This debars the reduplication required by the last sūtra. Thus पुत्रादिनी त्वमसि पापे "O sinful one! thou art eater of thy own son". Here the word पुत्रादिनी is used simply as an abusive epithet. But when a fact is described, and the word is not used as an abuse or आक्षोश, the reduplication takes place. Thus पुत्रादिनी व्याग्री 'a kind of tigress, that eats up her young ones'. = शिशुमारी व्याग्री ॥

*Vārtī*—So also when पुत्र is followed by पुत्रादिनी ॥ As पुत्र पुत्रादिनी त्वमसि पापे ॥ So also पुत्रपौत्रादिनी ॥

*Vārtī*—Optionally so when the words हत and जग्ध follow. As पुत्रहती or पुत्रजग्धी or पुत्रजग्धी ॥

*Vārtī*—According to the option of Āchārya Paushkarasādi, the letters of च्य व्य pratyāhāra are replaced by the second letters of their class, when followed by a sibilant (a letter of शर् pratyāhāra).

As वस्सः becomes वध्यः; अक्षरम् becomes अख्यम् and अप्सरा becomes अप्यसरा ॥

शरोचि ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शरः, अचि ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ शरोचि परतो न है भवतः ।

49. There are not two in the room of a sibilant (शर्), when a vowel follows.

The word न is to be read into the sūtra. This debars the application of rule 46 ante. Thus कर्षति, वर्षति, आकर्षः, अक्षर्षः: ॥

Why do we say अचि 'when a vowel follows'? Observe इद्यर्थते ॥

त्रिप्रभृतिषु शाकटायनस्य ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ त्रिप्रभृतिषु, शाकटायनस्य ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ त्रिप्रभृतिषु वर्णेषु संयुक्तेषु शाकटायनस्याचार्यस्य मतेन न भवति ।

50. According to the option of Śakaṭāyana, the doubling does not take place when the conjunct consonants are three or more in number.

As इन्द्रः, चन्द्रः, उद्धः, राघूम्, भाग्म् ॥

सर्वत्र शाकल्यस्य ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वत्र, शाकल्यस्य ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ शाकल्याचार्यस्य मतेन सर्वत्र इर्ष्वत्वं न भवति ।

51. According to the opinion of Śākalya, there is reduplication no where.

As अक्टः, मक्टः, ब्रह्मा, अपहृते ॥

दीर्घादाचार्याणाम् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घात, आचार्याणाम् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घादुत्तरस्याचार्याणां मतेन न भवति ।

52. According to the opinion of all Teachers, there is no doubling after a long vowel.

As वाचम्, पाचम्, मूचम्, सूचम् ॥

झलां जश्ज्ञशि ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ झलाम्, जश्, ज्ञशि ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ झलां स्थाने जशादेशो भवति ज्ञशि परतः ।

53. In the room of झल् letters, there is substitution of जश् letters, when झल् letters follow.

A mute letter is changed to a sonant non-aspirate mute, when a sonant mute follows it.

This is the well-known rule of softening the hard letters. Thus लभ् + ता = लधा, so also लघुम्, लघव्यम् ; दोग्धा, दोग्धुम्, दोग्धव्यम् ; बोद्धा, बोद्धुम्, बोद्धव्यम् ॥

Why do we say ज्ञशि, 'when a jhaś follows'? Observe इतः, इत्यः, इष्मः ॥

अभ्यासे चर्च ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्यासे, चर्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यासे वर्तमानानां झलां चरादेशो भवति चकाराजश् ।

54. The चर् is also the substitute of झल् letters occurring in a reduplicate syllable, as well as जश् ॥

In a reduplicate syllable, a sonant non-aspirate (जश्) as well as a surd non aspirate (चर्) is the substitute of a Mute letter. By applying the rule of

'nearest in place (I. I. 50), we find that sonant non-aspirate (जश्) is the substitute of all sonants; and is the substitute of all surds. In other words all aspirate letters become non-aspirate. The word जश् has been drawn into the sūtra by the word च 'also'.

Thus चित्यनिषति ॥ Here सन् (Desiderative), is added to the root खन्, the ख is changed to छ by VII. 4. 62, and this aspirate छ is now changed to non-aspirate by the present sūtra. चित्यिषति, दिक्कारयिषति, तिष्ठासति, पिफ्कारयिषति, बुभूपति, जिजनिषति, बुबुधे, दौै, दिङ्ग्ने ॥ Or to be more accurate a चर् is replaced by a चर् and a जश् by a जश् letter.

If there is चर् (non-aspirate surd) in the original, it will remain of course unchanged. As, चिचीषति, दिटीकिषते, तित्तनिषति ॥

The original जश् also remains unchanged. Thus जिजनिषति, बुबुधे, दौै, दिङ्ग्ने ॥ Or to be more accurate a चर् is replaced by a चर् and a जश् by a जश् letter.

**खरि च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ खरि, च ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ खरि च परतो झलां चरादेशो भवति ।

55. In the room of झल्, there is the substitute चर्, when खर् follows.

A sonant non-aspirate mute is the substitute of a mute, when a surd mute or a sibilant follows. The words झलां and चरः are supplied from the last sūtra. Thus भेद् + ता = भेत्ता, भेत्तुम्, भेत्तच्यम् ; युयुथ् + सते = युयुत्सते ; आरिष्मने, आलिष्मते from रम् and लम्, the इस् is added by VII. 4. 54, in the room of अ of रम् and लम्, and we have रिस्म् and लिस्म् then the first स is elided by VIII. 2. 29.

**वावसाने ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, अवसाने ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ झलां चरिति वर्तते । अवसाने वर्तमानानां झलां या चरादेशो भवति ।

56. The चर् is optionally the substitute of a झल् that occurs in a Pause.

The words भलां चर् is understood in the sūtra. A sonant or a surd non-aspirate may stand as final in a Pause: but not an aspirate consonant. By VIII. 2. 39, a non-aspirate sonant can only stand in a final position. This ordains that a non-aspirate surd may also stand as the final, when there is Pause. Thus वाङ् or वाग्, त्वं or त्वग्, श्वलिह् or श्वलिह्, चिहुप् or चिहुप् ॥

**अणोप्रगृह्णस्यानुनासिकः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अणः, अप्रगृह्णस्य, अनुनासिकः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अणः अप्रगृह्णसंज्ञस्यावसाने वर्तमाने वानुनासिकादेशो भवति ।

57. The anunāsika is optionally the substitute of an अण् vowel which occurs in a Pause, and is not a Pragrihya.

अ, इ and उ, short and long, may, when final in a Pause, be pronounced as nasals, provided that they are not Pragrihya (I. I. 11 &c.) The अण् here

is a Pratyâhâra with the first ण् ॥ Thus वीर्धि or वधि, मृष्टि or मतु, कुमारी or कुमारी ॥

Why do we say 'of an अण् vowel?' Observe, कर्तृ, वर्तृ ॥

Why do we say 'which is not a pragñihya'? Observe अग्नी, वायु which are pragñihya by I. i. II.

**अनुस्वारस्य यथि परस्वर्णः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुस्वारस्य, यथि, परस्वर्णः ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अनुस्वारस्य यथि परतः परस्वर्णं भवति ।**

58. In the room of anusvâra, when यथ् follows, a letter homogeneous with the latter is substituted.

Thus शक्तिता, शक्तितम्, शक्तितव्यम्, उच्छिता, कृपिता, नन्दिता, कम्पिता &c. These are from roots शक्ति शक्त्याम्, उच्छित् उच्छ्वेत्, कृपित् दुनदि सश्चद्वै, कपि चलते ॥ Here तुम् is added because they are उच्छित्, and this न् becomes anusvâra by VIII. 3. 24, and this anusvâra is changed to ङ् when followed by a guttural क् &c, to म् when followed by a palatal च &c, and so on to ण्, न् and म् ॥

Why do we say when यथ् follows'? Observe आक्रम्यते, आचिक्रम्यते ॥

In कुर्वन्ति, वृत्तिः, the न is not changed into ण, though required by VIII. 4. 2. Because the णत्व is asiddha, and therefore by the prior rule VIII. 3. 24, the न is first changed into anusvâra (VIII. 2. 1). That anusvâra is again changed into न by the present rule, न being homogeneous with त् ॥ This change again being असिद्ध as if it had never taken place (VIII. 2. 1), the ण is never substituted for न ॥

**वा पदान्तस्य ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, पदान्तस्य ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ पदान्तस्यानुस्वारस्य यथि परतो वा परस्वर्णादेशो भवति ।**

59. In the room of anusvâra final in a Pada, the substitution of a letter homogeneous with the latter is optional.

Thus तं कर्पं चित्रपक्षं दयमानं नभःस्थं पुरुषोऽवधीत् or तद्वयजित्यवपक्षणदयमानन्नभःस्थम्पुरुषोऽवधीत् ॥

**तोर्लिं ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ तोः, लिः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ तवर्गस्य लकरे परतः परस्वर्णादेशो भवति ।

60. In the room of तु (a dental) when the letter ल follows, one homogeneous with the latter is substituted.

Thus अग्नितित् + लुनाति = अग्नितिल्लुनाति, सोमसुल्लुनाति; भवान् + लुनाति = भवान्ल्लुनाति, महाल्लुनाति ॥ Here त has been changed to pure ल, while the dento-nasal न् is changed to a nasal लैं ॥

**उदः स्थास्तम्भोः पूर्वस्य ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदः, स्था स्तम्भोः, पूर्वस्य ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ उद उत्तरयोः स्था स्तम्भ इत्येतयोः पूर्वस्वर्णादेशो भवति । वार्तिकम् ॥ उदः पूर्वस्वर्णले स्तकन्देश्चन्द्रस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ रोगे चेति वक्तव्यम् ।**

61. After उद्, in the room of the स of sthâ and stambha, the substitute is a letter belonging to the class of the prior (i. e. a dental is substituted for this स) ॥

As उद् + स्थाता = उद् + ध्याता = उद् + धाता (VIII. 4. 65) = उत् + धाता (VIII. 4. 55) = उत्धाता, उत्धातव्यम् ॥ So also with स्तम्भ्, as, उत्तम्भिता, उत्तम्भितुम् &c. (See I. 1. 67 and 54).

Why do we say of स्था and स्तम्भ्? Compare उत्तम्भात ॥

*Vārt*—In the Vedas, the above substitution takes place in the case of स्तम्भ् preceded by उद् ॥ As, अष्टे वूरमुल्कन्दः ॥

*Vārt*—So also when it means a disease. As उत्कन्दको नाम रोगः ॥ Or this form may have been derived from the root कन्द, and not स्तम्भ् ॥

झयो होन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ झयः, हः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

यृत्तिः ॥ झय उत्तरस्य इकारस्य पूर्वसर्वादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ।

62. In the room of the letter ह, after (a sonant Mute) there is optionally a letter homogeneous with the prior.

The pratyâhâra झय् includes all Mutes. But practically sonant Mutes are only taken here.

As वाङ् + हसति = वाग्घसति or वाग् हसति, श्वलिद् डसति or हसति, अग्निच्छ्रित् धसति or हसति, अद्वृत् भसति or हसति, सोमसुद् धसति or सोमसुद् हसति ॥

Why do we say झयः 'after a sonant Mute?' Observe प्राङ् हसति, भवान् हसति ॥

शाश्वोटि ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शः, छः, अटि ॥

यृत्तिः ॥ झय इति वर्तते । अन्यतरस्यामिति च । झय उत्तरस्य शाकारस्यादि परतश्लकारादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ छत्वमीति वन्नव्यम् ।

63. In the room of श preceded by a surd Mute, there is optionally the letter छ when a vowel or य, व or र follows such श ॥

Though झय् means all Mutes, the rule, however, applies to surd mutes. The words झय् and अन्यतरस्यां are to be read into the sūtra. Thus वाङ् + शेते = वाङ्छेते or वेते ॥ अग्निच्छ्रित् शेते, श्वलिद् शेते or छेते, अद्वृत् शेते or शेते ॥

*Vārt*—It should rather be stated when a letter of अम् pratyâhâra follows. The sūtra only gives उद् letters, the vārtika adds the letters छ, and the nasals. Thus तत् श्लोकेन = तच्छ्लोकेन, तच्छ्लमभ्युणा ॥

हलो यमां यमि लोपः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, यमाम्, यमि, लोपः ॥

यृत्तिः ॥ हल उत्तरेयां यमां यमि परतो लोपो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ।

64. After a consonant, the following semi-vowel or a nasal is elided optionally, when the same letters follow it.

The word अन्यतरस्याम् should be read into the sūtra. Thus शश्वया or शश्वा, the middle श being elided. In शश्वया there are two श, one of the affix क्षयः (III. 3. 99); and the second of अक्षङ् (VII. 4. 22), and the third arises by doubling (VIII. 4. 47). आदित्य (formed by doubling श by the Vārtika under 47 ante), or आदित्य 'son of Aditi' In आदित्य there are two श, one of श्व (IV. 1. 85), and the second arises by doubling.

Similarly आदित्य देवता अस्य स्थाली पाकस्य=आदित्यः ॥ Then by VIII. 4. 47, there is a third श, as अदित्यः ॥ Here also we may elide the one middle श or both the middle श's. Thus आदित्यः or आदित्यः ॥

Why do we say हलः 'preceded by a consonant'? Observe अन्यम् when म् is preceded by a vowel.

Why do we say अमाम् "of अम् letters"? Observe अमग्निः, अर्धम् (V. 4. 25) where अ is not a अः ॥

Why do we say यैमि "when यम् follows"? Observe शार्ङ्गम् here ङ् is not followed by a यः ॥

हरो ज्ञारि सवर्णे ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्ञरः, ज्ञारि, सवर्णे ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ हल उत्तरस्य हरो ज्ञारि सवर्णे परतो लोपो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ।

65. A Mute or Sibilant (ङ्) preceded by a consonant and followed by a homogeneous mute or sibilant, is optionally elided.

The word हलः is understood. Thus प्रत्तम्, अवत्तम् have three त्, namely, one त् substituted for आ by VII. 4. 47, the second त् resulting from the change of इ to त् by चर्व्व change, the third त् is that of the affix. A fourth arises by doubling (VIII. 4. 47) of these four, one or two middle ones may be dropped. महत्तत् here are four त्. A fifth may be added by doubling, and by this rule, one, two or three of them may be elided. मरुत्+श+क्त्=मरुत्+दृत्+त् (VII. 4. 47) the word मरुत् being treated as an Upasarga (I. 4. 59, vārt)=महत्तत् ॥

Why do we say ज्ञरः 'of a jhar'? Compare शार्ङ्गम्, here ङ् which is not a हर्, is not elided, though it is followed by a हर् letter. Why do we say ज्ञारि 'followed by a jhar'? See प्रियपञ्चः ॥ This is a Bahuvrīhi compound=प्रिया: पञ्चास्य ॥ The word प्रिय stands first in the compound under II. 2. 35. (vārt). The full word is प्रियपञ्चम्, the अ is elided by VI. 4. 134, and we have प्रियपञ्चम्; and then this न् becomes a palatal ङ् ॥ Here च् is preceded by a हल letter, and itself is a हर्, and is followed by a homogeneous

letter अ्, but as अ् is not स्, the अ् is not elided. The elided अ is not considered sthānivat, and so अ् is considered to be *immediately* followed by अ्॥

Why do we say सर्वे 'when a homogeneous jhar follows'? Observe तप्तुं तप्तम् &c, where प् and त् are not homogeneous.

By using the word सर्वे, the rule of mutual correspondence (I. 3. 10) is avoided. Had the rule been शरो शरि the rule of mutual correspondence according to order of enumeration would have applied, and the forms शिष्ठिं पिष्ठिं could not have been evolved by the elision of इ before इ ॥ For the evolution of these forms see the commentary under I. 1. 58. These are the Imperative 2nd Person Singular of शिष्ठ and पिष्ठ ॥ The अ of अम् is elided by VI. 4. 111: the हि is changed to थि by VI. 4. 101, the अ् is changed to इ by VIII. 4. 53, the न् of अम् is changed to anusvāra by VIII. 3. 24; this anusvāra is again changed to ण by VIII. 4. 58; the थ is changed to इ, and by the present rule, the preceding इ is elided before this इ ॥

उदाच्चादनुदाच्चस्य स्वरितः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदाच्चात्, अनुदाच्चस्य, स्वरितः ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ उदाच्चादुच्चरस्यादुच्चाच्चस्य स्वरितादेषो भवति ।

66. The Svarita is the substitute of an Anudātta vowel which follows an Udātta vowel.

Thus अग्निम् + ईं = अग्निमीले ॥ Here ईं which was अनुशास्त्र by rule VIII. 1. 28, becomes svarita by the present rule, as it comes after the udātta ई of agni.

So also गौर्ग्यः, वैस्त्वयः ॥ Here यज् is added by IV. 1. 105, and being अनुशास्त्र the words are first acute. The final is anudātta, which becomes svarita. So also पैचति and पैटति, the शप् and तिप् are anudātta, the root is accented, the अ of शप् becomes svarita.

The rule VI. 1. 158, does not change this svarita into an Anudātta, because for the purposes of that rule, the present rule is असिद्ध, or as if it had not taken place (VIII. 2. 1). Therefore both the udātta and the svarita accent are heard.

नोदाच्चस्वरितोदयमगार्ग्यकाश्यपगालवानाम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, उदाच्च-स्वरित-उदयम्, अ-गार्ग्य-काश्यप-गालवानाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदाच्चादयस्य स्वरितोदयस्य चानुदाच्चस्य स्वरितो न भवति अग्निर्ग्यकाश्यपगालवानामाचार्योणां मतेन ॥ उदाच्चोदयः = उदाच्चपरः ।

67 All prohibit the above substitution of svarita, except the Āchāryās Gārgya, Kāsyapa and Gālava; when an udātta or a svarita follows the anudātta.

This debars the preceding rule. That anudātta which is followed by an Udātta is उदाच्चोदयः or उदाच्चपरः ॥ The word उदय means पर in the terminology of ancient Grammarians. That anudātta which is followed by a svarita is called स्वरितोदयः ॥ These are Bahuvrīhi compounds. Thus उदाच्चोदयः—गौर्ग्य-

स्त्रैं, वौस्यु स्त्रैं ॥ The word स्त्रैं is first acute by लित् accent, before this udātta, the य of these words does not become svarita. So with स्वरितोदयः—गौर्युः कुं वौस्युः कुं ॥ The word कुं is svarita being formed by the लित् affix अत् (V. 3. 12); before this svarita the preceding य does not become svarita.

Why do we say "except in the opinion of Gārgya, Kāsyapa and Gālava"? Observe गार्यः कुं, गार्यस्त्रै ॥ According to their opinion, the svarita change does take place.

The employment of the longer word उदय instead of the shorter word पर is for the sake of auspiciousness, for the Book has approached the end. The very utterance of the word उदय is auspicious. All sacred works commence with an auspicious word, have an auspicious word in the middle, and end with an auspicious word. Thus Pāṇini commences his sūtra with the auspicious word वृद्धिः 'increase' (in Sūtra I. 1. 1): has the word शिव 'the well-wisher' in the middle (IV. 4. 143), and उदय at the end.

The mention of the names of those several Āchāryas is for the sake of showing respect (pujārtham).

अ अ इति ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ, अ, इति ॥

वृत्तः ॥ एकोच विवृतो इपरः संवृतस्त्रै विवृतस्य संवृतः क्रियते । अकारो विवृतः संवृतो भवति ।

68. The अ which was considered to be open (विवृत) in all the preceding operations of this Grammar, is now made contracted (संवृत) ॥

The first अ is here विवृत or open; the second is संवृत or contracted. The open अ is now changed to contracted अ ॥ "In actual use the organ in the enunciation of the short अ is *contracted*; but it is considered to be *open* only, as in the case of the other vowels, when the vowel अ is in the state of taking part in some operation of Grammar. The reason for this is, that if the short अ were held to differ from the long आ in this respect, the *homogeneous-ness* mentioned in I. 1. 9, would not be found to exist between them, and the operation of the rules depending upon that homogeneity would be debarred. In order to restore the short अ to its natural rights, thus infringed throughout the Ashṭādhyāyi, Pāṇini with oracular brevity in his closing aphorism gives the injunction अ अ; which is interpreted to signify—Let short अ be held to have its organ of utterance contracted, now that we have reached the end of the work in which it was necessary to regard it as being otherwise". (Dr. Ballantyne).

Thus युक्तः, प्रक्तः ॥ In this Grammar, the अ is regarded open or vivṛita, when operations are performed with it; but in actual pronunciation it is contracted. The long आ and the pluta आ ॥ are not meant to be included here in the open short अ; therefore those two are not contracted by this rule. Only

the *short अ* consisting of *one* mātra, with *its* various modifications is to be taken here. In other words the *six* shorts अ are only taken here, namely अँ, अ॒, अ॑, अ॒, अ॑, अ॒ ॥ For these six short open अ's, there are substituted six contracted corresponding अ's See I. i. 9.

॥ शुभं भवतु ॥

10. 10. 98.



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